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ne biography of Daniel Crosby Greene, the missionary in China for the American rd of commissioners for foreign missions, se forty-four years in Japan witnessed the sition from feudal to modern society. The k is based largely on Dr Greene's personal official correspondence.

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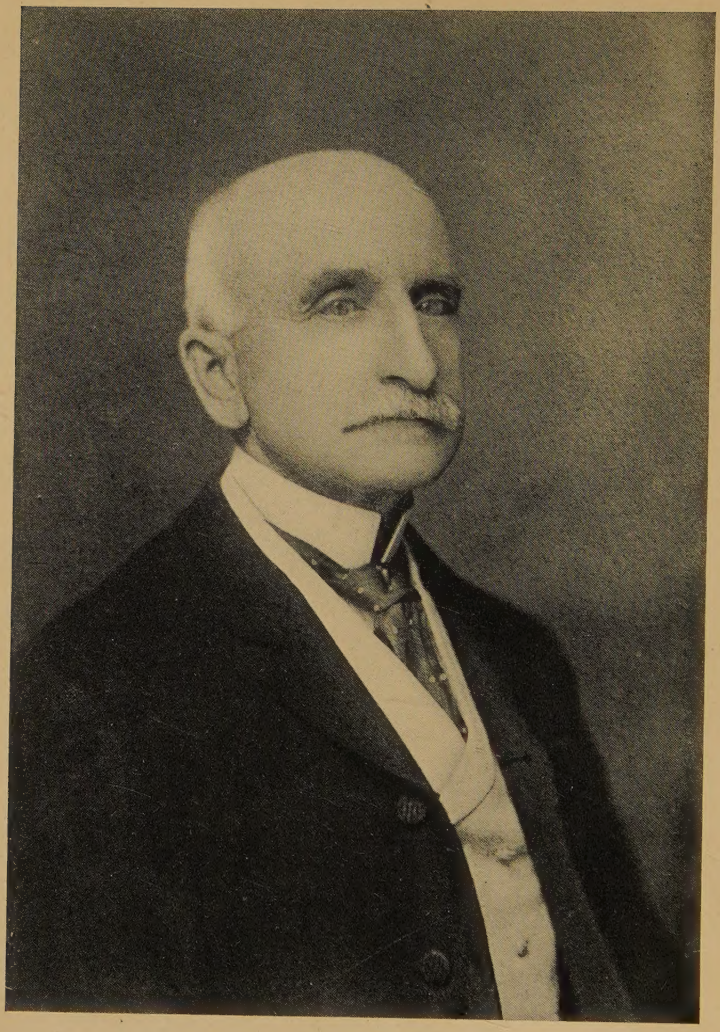
A NEW-ENGLANDER IN JAPAN



D. C. Green

A NEW-ENGLANDER IN JAPAN

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE

1843-1913

BY

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE

1870-1947

With Illustrations

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TO

MY FATHER'S

JAPANESE FRIENDS

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PREFACE

This book is the story of a New-Englander who, like many of his neighbors and kinsmen, found a career far beyond the limits of his native State. The westward adventure carried him farther than it did most of his contemporaries, and his life-work was done in the Island Empire beyond the Pacific.

In telling this story of my father's life, I have had to deal at the outset with the environment in which he grew up — with the Puritan tradition which he inherited and which was still a vital force in the New England of his youth. It is now the fashion to concentrate attention on the unamiable aspects of Puritanism; nor is it easy, when dealing with mental attitudes quite alien to the prevailing temper of our time, to avoid the kind of caricature now current. Those whose approach is more sympathetic need, in turn, to be on their guard against prepossessions of the opposite kind. I can only say, as a historian by trade, that I have tried to present things as they were, rather than as I could wish them to have been — to explain rather than to pass judgment.

Throughout his life, my father was primarily a missionary and the motives which determined his choice of that career were not essentially different from those which appealed to other religious men of his time. More and more, however, he came to think of his special form of service as vitally related to a wide range of human interests. Fortunately, too, the country to which he went was passing through experiences of a kind peculiarly adapted to broaden his interests and enlarge his sympathies. The forty-four years of his service in Japan (1869–1913) very nearly coincided with the Meiji era of Japanese history, when the transition from feudal to modern society took place. Of that transformation, in its many and varied aspects, he was a close and sympathetic observer,

establishing personal contacts, in town and country and in every class of society, of a kind quite beyond the reach of the casual tourist or even the ordinary resident of a 'treaty port.' In his later years he was one of the recognized experts in 'things Japanese.'

Naturally the passing years brought him a clearer understanding of the Japanese point of view in relation to the various problems resulting from closer intercourse with Western nations. He was, for instance, one of the early foreign critics of the extraterritorial jurisdiction exercised by Western governments in Japan. A discriminating, though friendly, critic of Japanese society, he felt keenly his responsibility as an interpreter of that society to his own countrymen and as a defender of his Japanese friends against ignorant or malicious criticism. Thus he became, more truly than most diplomatists, a mediator between the country of his birth and the people among whom he lived.

In preparing this book, which I have tried to make not merely a personal record but in some measure a contribution to the history of my father's time, my chief reliance has been upon his correspondence. Extending, as these papers do, with no serious interruptions, from 1864 to 1913, they have enabled me to tell much of the story in his own words. Through the courtesy of Secretaries J. L. Barton and E. F. Bell of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, I have been permitted to read the official correspondence in their files. For some similar material I am indebted to the mission boards of the Reformed (Dutch) and Presbyterian Churches, and to the American Bible Society. These official papers I have supplemented by the use of a large number of personal letters. Though the narrative is based mainly on manuscript sources, I have used also material published by the Japan Mission, or by individual members of it, together with biographies of some of my

father's older colleagues. For the earlier chapters and for the background generally, I have naturally drawn from many sources, which it has not seemed practicable to indicate in detail here. It is my intention, however, to deposit in the Library of the Andover Theological Seminary in Cambridge, a copy of this book, in which my authorities will be more specifically indicated.

For generous coöperation in various ways, I am indebted to many friends on both sides of the Pacific — an indebtedness imperfectly expressed in the acknowledgments I am able to make here. To my uncle, Roger S. Greene, I owe much of my information about my father's early years. Professor Edward Y. Hincks, an Andover student in my father's time and later a member of the Seminary faculty, kindly prepared for me a paper embodying his reminiscences, from which I have quoted freely. At Dartmouth College I was permitted to consult the college records; several of my father's classmates, there and at Andover, have helped me to form a more definite impression of his student years. For similar assistance in connection with later chapters, I am under obligations to the Reverend L. B. Cholmondeley and Professor J. T. Swift, two of my father's Tokyo friends, and the late W. B. Mason of Yokohama.

Through correspondence and conversation I have learned much that I should otherwise have missed. I should like to mention in this connection some of the Japanese friends who have been especially helpful: In Tokyo, Mr. T. Aritomi, Professor U. Bessho, Mr. Eigo Fukai, Professor N. Kishimoto, Mr. K. Kondo, Mr. J. Kono, the Reverend H. Kozaki, Mr. T. Murai, Mr. Iichiro Tokutomi, the Reverend K. Tomeoka, the Reverend K. Tsunashima, Professor K. Ukita, Mr. Y. Yamada, Mr. Jiro Yuasa; in Kobe, Mr. T. Yokoi, Mrs. Kawamoto; in Kyoto, President D. Ebina, the Reverend T. Matsuyama and Mrs. Matsuyama, Mr.

E. Nakamura; in Osaka, the Reverend T. Miyagawa; in Honolulu, Professor T. Harada.

I owe very much to my father's colleagues in the Japan Mission: the Reverend S. C. Bartlett, Dr. J. C. Berry, Dr. Otis Cary, Dr. Edward S. Cobb, Miss M. F. Denton, Mrs. M. L. Gordon, Miss Annie L. Howe, and Dr. Dwight W. Learned. Dr. Cary's painstaking care in reading the greater part of the book in proof has enabled me to avoid some errors into which I should otherwise have fallen.

Finally, I should like to say that this book has been made possible largely through the coöperation of my brothers and sisters.

EVARTS B. GREENE

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A NEW-ENGLANDER IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I

A NEW ENGLAND FAMILY, 1780–1843

Much has been said in recent years about New England provincialism, but the term does not quite adequately express the New-Englander's attitude toward the world beyond his borders and even unsympathetic critics have had something to say about the 'ubiquitous Yankee.' In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he took the lead in commerce with the West Indies, with the African coast, and with the countries of southern Europe. In the early years of the Republic, when the American flag began to appear on the China coast, New England furnished more than its share of the capital and the seamanship required for these pioneer enterprises. Later still, in the middle nineteenth century, the Yankee clipper ships earned for their owners and commanders an international reputation.

While New England merchants were establishing business relations with distant peoples, the inheritors of the Puritan tradition were beginning adventures no less far-reaching in the cause of religion. The pioneer American agency for international missionary service, founded about a quarter-century after the opening of American trade with Canton, was 'The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,' with headquarters in Boston. Though the 'American Board,' as it is usually called, ultimately developed a national constituency, it was at first a distinctly New England institution, supported by the more aggressive upholders of Puritan orthodoxy. Within a quarter-century after the

founding of this society in 1810, its agents made their way to the Near East, to India, China, and the Hawaiian Islands.

About forty years after the sailing of its first missionaries to China, and fifteen years after Commodore Perry's treaty opened Japan to a limited intercourse with Western nations, the Board took advantage of this new opportunity for the extension of its work in the Far East. In 1869, its first representative, Daniel Crosby Greene, then a young man of twenty-six, began a service for and with the Japanese people which continued until his death in 1913. During those forty-four years, he was to share in many ways with his Japanese friends the hopes and fears, the trials and achievements of that transition from feudal to modern Japan which is known as the 'Meiji Era.' To determine the precise influence of any man's contribution to the life of the New Japan is of course impossible. It has seemed worth while, however, to tell a plain story of the experiences, problems, and services of this representative American friend of the Japanese in the hope of contributing something toward better mutual understanding in this era of increasingly close contact between Western Christendom and the Far East.

Daniel Crosby Greene, who was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, now within the corporate limits of Boston, on February 11, 1843, was the son of David and Mary Evarts Greene. On both sides of the house, he came of typical New England Puritan stock. The paternal grandfather, Thomas Green, was, with several of his brothers, a young soldier in the Revolutionary War, and after his military service he settled down in Stoneham, a small town about nine miles from Boston. There he married Anna Knight and brought up a large family of children on a very modest income, his chief occupation being that of a carpenter and builder. One operation on which he is said to have been engaged was the construction of the Charles River Bridge in 1786–87. Though listed in 1784 as one of the smallest taxpayers in the town,

and apparently never acquiring much property, his name appears three times in the list of selectmen. The biography of one of his sons, published while the father was still living, speaks of the latter as 'much respected for his industry and integrity and for being the uniform and decided supporter of good institutions and good order'; 'though not a professor of religion,' he was 'a punctual attendant on public worship and highly exemplary in all the ordinary moral duties.' In this loyalty to the established order in state, church, and society, without formal church membership, Thomas Green was typical of a large class in the New England communities of that day; for admission to full communion depended on a statement of spiritual experience which serious-minded men even then found difficult.

In this family, it was the wife who represented the more intense religious feeling. Anna Knight Green is described by the biographer just quoted as a 'plain woman, with no more education than usually fell to the lot of a common farmer's daughter,' but sensible and of an 'aimiable temper,' 'perhaps rather pensive.' It is again quite in accord with Puritan traditions that she did not enter the church early in life under the influence of prevailing social conventions, but as the result of conversion, which, in her case, came some years after her marriage. The religious training which she gave her children included, as usual at that time, a thorough drill in that standard Puritan textbook, the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism.

The educational facilities of Stoneham in those days were extremely limited. A recent town historian could find up to the middle of the nineteenth century only two persons besides the ministers, who were college graduates. Thomas Green took a serious interest in the education of his children, but his expectations for them seem at first to have been comparatively modest. They were sent to a district school, taught only for a few months in the year, and then the boys were to

'learn some good trade.' One son, Samuel, was apprenticed to a 'mason and bricklayer' and another learned the carpenter's trade. The bricklayer's apprentice, however, developed a keen interest in higher education, and financial difficulties were finally overcome sufficiently to enable him, at the age of eighteen, to enter Phillips Academy at Andover; there he was followed a few years later by his younger brother, David.

Phillips Academy, founded during the American Revolution, was already a famous school when the older of the two brothers entered it in 1809. Timothy Dwight, then president of Yale College, spoke of it in his well-known 'Travels in New England and New York,' as 'the most respectable institution of its kind within my knowledge.' As conceived by its founders, the school was not only to train boys in the classics and other academic studies, 'but more especially to learn them the great end and real business of living,' or as Dwight put it, to promote 'virtue and true piety.' This emphasis on moral and religious training was perhaps never more marked than under the vigorous leadership of the famous schoolmaster, John Adams, who was principal of the Academy during this period.

An interesting glimpse of school life in those days is preserved in the letters of William Person, a 'foundation scholar' preparing himself for the ministry. Writing in April, 1814, he spoke of the school with pride as 'a kind of college' giving in its later years some distinctly collegiate work. He was most impressed, however, with the religious spirit of the place. The general exercises, including morning and afternoon prayers, seemed to him 'delightful.' With the prayers and Bible reading there was also the singing of 'Watts' psalms or hymns.' 'Every scholar must learn to sing' and seniors were expected to 'comment on scriptural texts.' On Sundays, there was compulsory church attendance, and the sermon had to be listened to, for an abstract might be called for on the follow-

ing day. Aside from the devotional exercises, there were formal recitations on moral and religious topics. On Monday morning, for instance, the boys had to recite on 'ten pages of Vincent's explanations of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism'; for a similar exercise on Saturday, there was 'an inestimable tract by Mason on self knowledge.' A full programme, when combined with declamations on Wednesday afternoons and 'our common classical studies,' not to speak of the 'chores' which fell to the lot of some of the boys.

In 1808, the religious traditions of the Academy were reënforced by the opening of another institution on Andover Hill. Founded by the united efforts of the orthodox elements in the Congregational churches, the Andover Theological Seminary became the chief stronghold of the traditional New England theology, against the formidable Unitarian movement. Orthodoxy could no longer be successfully defended by mere repetition of old phrases and the Seminary called into its service some really able men. It is not to be supposed that many schoolboys were deeply concerned with controversial theology; but the relations of the Academy with the Seminary were close and in a country village like Andover the two institutions combined to produce an atmosphere thoroughly charged with the Puritan spirit. The seriousness with which some of the boys responded to such influences is indicated by Person's letters and by the personal experience of Samuel Green himself. Though in the case of the latter formal church membership came several years later, the life at Andover seems to have deepened the religious impressions which he brought from his country home.

The later career of Samuel Green is also suggestive, both because of the direct influence which he seems to have had on his younger brother, and because it throws light on the religious background of the next generation. From Andover, he went to the radically different environment of Harvard College. Since the election of Henry Ware to the Hollis Pro-

fessorship of Divinity in 1805, Harvard had definitely aligned itself with the Unitarian element in the Congregational churches. The general tone of college life was also adverse to the type of religious feeling encouraged at Andover. Green's convictions were, however, too firmly fixed to be much changed by the new conditions. He associated himself with a few like-minded students in an organization called the Saturday Evening Society, which sought, in the words of his biographer, 'to preserve the existence of a pure faith in this venerable seat of science.' Though his relations with the faculty in other respects seem to have been satisfactory and though, after serious interruptions due to ill-health, he finally received his bachelor's degree with high standing in 1817, his hostility to the prevailing tendencies at Harvard carried him definitely over into the opposing camp.

Harvard studies were followed by a return to the congenial associations of Andover Theological Seminary and it was only then that Samuel Green thought himself prepared for church membership. Some written statements prepared by him on this occasion show how fully he shared the traditional Puritan modes of feeling and expression. A formal narrative of his religious experience begins with the stirrings of the religious impulse in childhood, the sense of his 'lost and undone state without a Saviour,' followed by lapses into 'a sort of carnal security' alternating with periods of doubts and distress. He found himself 'opposed to the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel. . . . I cavilled at the doctrine of election; I wanted some hope to rest upon, and, if possible, to throw the blame of my guilt from myself, and even ventured to charge it upon a holy God . . . I enjoyed little or no hope till within the past year . . . I acknowledge I now am far from certain whether I have ever been born again.' 'But,' the confession ends, 'I will, through the assistance of divine grace, put all my confidence in him who pitieth our weaknesses, and remembereth that we are dust.'

Fortified by the austere spirit of the Seminary and disciplined in its theological system, this ardent young defender of the Puritan faith passed, after two years of college teaching at Bowdoin, into pastoral service. From his first parish at Reading, close to his old home town, he was called in 1822 to the Union Church in Essex Street, Boston. This 'new station on the walls of Zion' was formed by orthodox members from several congregations after the definite division between the Unitarian and Trinitarian churches had carried most of the older parishes over into the Unitarian camp. Here Green remained until the breakdown of his health compelled him to withdraw from active service. His whole pastoral career covered little more than a decade; but during that period he was recognized as one of the most vigorous and influential leaders of the Puritan revival in eastern Massachusetts.

The type of Calvinistic piety which Samuel Green represented is almost, if not quite, extinct even among the leaders of his own communion and is not easily interpreted now even to religiously minded persons; but it must certainly be reckoned with by any student of New England society in the nineteenth century. Its morbid aspects naturally arrest attention and its intolerance of theological differences. What made the Puritan revival in spite of these defects still an invigorating influence in many directions was its steady emphasis on the personal responsibility of the humblest and most imperfect individual, the essential dignity of his calling as an instrument in fulfilling the divine purposes for mankind.

In view of Samuel Green's attitude toward the Unitarian movement and the close association of Harvard College with that movement, it was natural that the younger brother, David, should choose instead the more conservative associations of Yale, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1821.

The dominating personality at New Haven, during the early years of the nineteenth century, was President Timothy

Dwight, who died in 1817 shortly before David Greene's[1] matriculation. During the twenty-two years of his presidency, Dwight was not only an academic personage but one of the most conspicuous and effective defenders of the 'standing order' in Church and State. When be began his work at the college religious feeling of the traditional kind was at a low ebb; but, under his influence largely, the whole tone of student life was radically changed and Yale became once more a bulwark of orthodox Calvinism. All this was quite in harmony with David Greene's earlier training at home and at Andover.

A serious-minded youth, much troubled at times about his religious problems, Greene was not so much preoccupied with these personal experiences as to prevent his taking high rank as a student; a standing sufficient to bring him, shortly after graduation, the offer of a tutorship in the college. There was time also for some lasting friendships and even for the 'careless and quiet gaiety of college life,' as he wrote a few years later in a letter to his most intimate friend *à propos* of an approaching college reunion. The intellectual discipline provided in that day had its backbone in the classics and the upper classes were instructed in philosophy along with theological lectures by the college professor of divinity.

After college came a year of teaching in a Boston school for girls, and apparently some questionings as to his future career. A letter to a Yale classmate, recalling pleasant memories of college days and speaking with special feeling about the death of a much-admired teacher, ends on a note of self-depreciation. He reproaches himself with living 'rather idly and very uselessly . . . not flattering myself with any very pleasing prospects . . . nor feeling half so anxious about my life in future, as the hurrying months ought to make me.' Meantime, however, he was keeping up his associations with

[1] This spelling, with the final *e*, was the one adopted by David Greene, possibly a reversion to an older usage.

college friends then studying theology at Andover. There he presently joined them, though his theological studies were interrupted for one year by a teaching engagement in an academy at Amherst, Massachusetts.

The Andover Seminary of the twenties was still the outstanding intellectual center of orthodox Calvinism. Leonard Woods, the Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, and Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature, were in their prime as teachers and controversialists, crossing swords from time to time with the Unitarians in Boston and Cambridge. They aimed to keep safely within the limits of orthodoxy as defined in the 'Associates Creed' of the Seminary — a formidable document from a twentieth-century point of view, though sufficiently comprehensive to shelter more or less divergent groups within the Calvinistic fold.

With strenuous orthodoxy, Andover combined genuine zeal for scholarship. College graduation was the normal requirement for admission and the Seminary prided itself on helping to pull up college standards. Moses Stuart, entering on his duties with a meager linguistic equipment, became one of the notable promoters of Hebrew scholarship in this country, and also a pioneer in the study of contemporary German theology. Indeed, some friends of the Seminary complained that students were giving too much attention to the writings of 'lax and infidel writers and commentators.' Stuart insisted, however, on the necessity of acquainting his pupils with the results of German scholarship. It was, he said, 'a very mistaken prudence' 'that makes an *Index Expurgatorius* to a Library for the use of theological students'; such a library should not 'consist only of those books the sentiments of which are approved.' It seemed to these robust controversialists that their pupils and successors should know something of the enemy's weapons as well as of their own. The respect for scholarship shown by their teachers had a marked influence on the Andover graduates of the next half-century,

a remarkable proportion of whom became college presidents and professors. Especially notable was the contribution which Andover made in this way to the cause of higher education in the Middle West. In the field of foreign missions also Andover scholarship made an enviable record, especially in Biblical translation.

With all its concern for scholarship, the Seminary also emphasized the need of cultivating the devotional spirit. Woods wrote of himself and his colleagues that 'while we gave importance to literary acquisition, we gave a still higher place to spiritual improvement.' The regulations of the Seminary required that every public lecture be 'preceded and followed by prayer'; the Sunday sermons to the students should be 'devout, practical, doctrinal, and pungent, rather than speculative and metaphysical.' The importance of church music was also recognized by the founders, as it was by the promoters of the evangelical revival generally. Serious attention should be given to the forming of 'a true taste for genuine Church Music.' Students who had 'tolerable voices' for singing were to be 'duly instructed in the theory and practice of this celestial art.' An important feature of student life from the beginning was the keen interest in foreign missions. The founders of the Seminary belonged to the same group of clergy and laymen who had been active in the American Board. A large proportion of the early missionaries were trained at Andover and the record of their achievements was cherished as a prime source of inspiration for the younger men. The feeling was not altogether unlike that with which, in the seventeenth century, the young recruits of the Society of Jesus were stirred to emulation of the pioneer missionaries in America and the Far East.

In the Seminary, as at Yale, David Greene was regarded by his associates as a man of distinctly religious temperament, with exacting standards of conduct for himself and for others as well. It was here that, in 1825, at the age of

twenty-eight, he first formally became a church member. Intellectually he made his mark as a well-informed man and a clear thinker; but a friendly critic recalled some lack of 'facility and gracefulness in speaking.' Perhaps this limitation helps to explain why he never undertook the responsibilities of a permanent pastorate though he did a few years after graduation receive formal ordination as an 'evangelist.' In any case, the career which he chose was a natural outcome of his Andover training with its strong missionary spirit. He finished his theological course in 1826 and later in the same year became one of the assistant secretaries of the American Board. In this position and in the full secretaryship to which he was promoted six years later, he continued until in 1848 ill-health compelled him to retire from his chosen profession.

So it came about that, for more than twenty years, the most intimate personal and official associations of David Greene were those of Boston and its immediate neighborhood. His professional interests brought him into the closest relations with the activities — religious, philanthropic, and educational — which gathered about the upper end of Boston Common and the adjacent section of the old town. For many years his daily routine took him back and forth from his home on Pinckney Street (beyond the Beacon Street side of the Common) to Hanover Street and Cornhill. In 1836, he moved with his family to the neighboring village of Roxbury; but he still could, and often did, walk from his Roxbury house to his Boston office. His son Crosby was not born until the later years of his life in Roxbury; but the old Boston life of the thirties and forties is an essential part of the family background.

The Boston of 1826 was a small city, judged by twentieth-century standards. The Federal census of 1830 showed about sixty thousand inhabitants, largely confined to the small peninsular area of colonial days. The old town was nevertheless full of life and energy. Between 1820 and 1850 the popula-

tion was more than trebled and the processes which have made the modern city were well under way. During the early years of this period, maritime interests dominated the life of the community to an extent hardly realizable at the present time. As late as 1840, the Federal census of 'persons employed' in the city of Boston, showed more persons listed under 'Navigation of the Ocean' than under all the other headings put together. Boston capital was largely invested in trade with the East Indies and China; such firms as Bryant and Sturgis and Russell and Company were well known in the Far East. It was also a time of transition from the sailing ship to the trans-Atlantic steamer. The great era of the clipper ship came in the forties and fifties; but contemporary with this development was the inauguration in 1840, of regular steamship service between Liverpool and Boston. By 1843, this modern improvement had become an old story, and Amos Lawrence remarked that the arrival of the Liverpool boat caused scarcely more excitement than would have been felt fifty years earlier by the inhabitants of Groton over the coming of the weekly stage from Boston.

Manufactures, however, were developing and increasing the interest of Massachusetts in the protective tariff policy of the Whig party, though there were occasional setbacks. In 1829, David Greene wrote to a friend in New Haven about one such period of discouragement: 'Every body here in Boston is failing, and all looks like general bankruptcy. The manufactories in which our capitalists have engaged so largely are found to be great *sink-holes*, as the Western people call them, without bottom.' Another interest, attaching Massachusetts more firmly to the rest of the country, was railroad-building. In the early thirties journeys from Boston to Worcester and Lowell were still taken by stage; but in 1835 steam railroad communication was established with both these cities and by 1841 trains were running through to Albany. An interesting indication of popular interest in this revolutionary enterprise

is the statement of one of its chief promoters, that the financing of it 'commenced and has been completed by the middling class in the community.' Significant also of the connection between the economic history of the period and its religious enterprises is the fact that in 1843 the American Board ventured to hold its annual meeting as far west as Rochester, New York.

In another respect also the period was one of transition from colonial to modern conditions. The Irish immigration to eastern Massachusetts was sufficiently large to affect materially the population of the city and the newcomers were received with mingled feelings. Their labor was an indispensable factor in the new industrial development, but the Irish vote was beginning to count in politics and caused some anxiety. 'We do not know,' wrote Jacob Abbott in 1835, 'what we should do without them. We do not know what we shall do with them. . . . They come not to be governed but to help us govern ourselves. . . . Welcome, ye sons of Erin, to the shores of Columbia. . . . But touch not the sacred ark of American liberty with unsanctified hands.' Religious prejudice played a part also and found its most unfortunate expression in the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown in 1834. Boston was losing its comparatively homogeneous character and men of widely varying traditions had to learn how to live and work together.

For the perpetuation of older standards, Boston relied largely upon its schools. Timothy Dwight declared early in the century that Boston was the only large town within his knowledge 'in which schools have been formed into a system.' The system itself seemed to him excellent and he admired 'the spirit and punctuality' with which it was administered, reflecting 'high honor on the good sense and liberality of the inhabitants.' In the thirties and forties Horace Mann was beginning to point out the shortcomings of the Massachusetts schools; but, relatively speaking, they had a well-earned

reputation. Clerical and religious influences were still strong. In Roxbury, for instance, the School Committee of 1846, the first under the new municipal charter, had a majority of clerical members. On this Committee David Greene served with the orthodox pastor of the church to which he belonged; among their associates were representatives of several other denominations including Theodore Parker, then the most conspicuous representative of radical Unitarianism. For secondary education, New England still depended mainly on endowed schools, of which the Roxbury Latin School was an excellent example. One of Greene's older sons, who entered this school in 1844, subsequently recorded his impressions in a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society.

As an officer of the American Board, Greene was naturally brought into close relations with the leaders in many enterprises which owed their inspiration to the Puritan revival of the early nineteenth century. These connections were strengthened by his marriage in 1829 to Mary Evarts, the oldest daughter of Jeremiah Evarts, then senior secretary of the Board.

Among the New England religious leaders of that time, Evarts stands out conspicuously as a layman who found in philanthropic service not merely an avocation but a definite career. He came of an old Connecticut family; but his father was a pioneer settler of northern Vermont, and it was here, in the frontier township of Georgia, close to the upper end of Lake Champlain, that young Evarts spent most of his boyhood. Such a community offered few educational facilities, but there was some opportunity for reading. Among the books which fell into his hands was 'The Spectator'; in after years his sister expressed her opinion that 'every page' of this classic was as familiar to him in his childhood as his spelling-book. At seventeen he was sent to Connecticut and after a few months coaching in the classics was admitted to Yale College in the fall of 1798.

Jas. Evarts.

During his four years at Yale, Evarts came directly under the influence of Timothy Dwight, then in his prime as teacher, college president, and champion of Puritan traditions. His system of theology was expounded to the students in his regular exercises and in 'miscellaneous discourses, oftentimes more experimental and pungent.' Evarts's classmate, David Dudley Field, declared that when they entered college, 'there were very few pious students. Two only are believed at that time to have joined the class and one of these died the second year.' Before this class graduated, however, it came under the influence of a typical college revival and a large proportion of its members, including Evarts, shared in this experience.

By the time he left Yale he was thoroughly indoctrinated in the 'New England theology' of the day. He seems, indeed, with the relentless logic of youth, to have outdone Dwight himself in the austerity of his principles. His son-in-law and biographer, Tracy, gives a picturesque account of a classroom debate on the subject, 'Is dancing a useful employment?' in which Evarts took the negative, vigorously assailing what he conceived to be the dangerously lax position of the president.

A young man of Evarts's convictions and feelings would in those days normally have gone into the ministry; but instead he chose the law and for a few years practiced his profession in New Haven. There he married Mehitable Sherman, daughter of Roger Sherman, the famous Connecticut statesman of the Revolutionary era. Notwithstanding his family connections and his recognized ability, Evarts was obviously not successful in 'getting business'; he was apparently too thoroughgoing in his application of Puritan standards, to others as well as to himself. Meanwhile he was acquiring something of a literary reputation, chiefly through his contributions to 'The Panoplist,' the chief controversial organ of the orthodox party in Massachusetts. The dominant

personality in the group back of this magazine was Jedidiah Morse, pastor of the orthodox First Church of Charlestown, an extremely versatile person, best known to fame through his 'American Universal Geography' and other geographical works. By 1809, Morse was convinced that Evarts, who was understood to be 'one of the best writers in Connecticut' and anxious to pursue a literary career, would be 'a great acquisition to the evangelical cause among us.' The young lawyer was accordingly induced to take up his residence at Charlestown and assume the editorial management of 'The Panoplist.'

From the standpoint of Evarts and his associates, who were contending for 'the faith once delivered' to the Puritan fathers of New England, the situation in eastern Massachusetts was then extremely depressing. Of the sixteen pre-Revolutionary Congregational churches within the present corporate limits of Boston, all but two were understood to be under Unitarian influence. The old organizations remained unchanged; there had been no formal schism, but a process of 'peaceful penetration' under the leadership of the 'liberal' clergy seemed to have carried all but a discredited minority very far from the old Puritan standards. The movement was also spreading in the smaller towns of eastern Massachusetts where under the existing law an orthodox majority of church members might be overruled on questions affecting church property by the 'society' or parish, in which the actual communicants might be, and frequently were, in a minority. In 1820, this principle was definitely established by the State Supreme Court in the 'Dedham Case.' Under these circumstances, it seemed to the conservative leaders that their only safety lay in an aggressive restatement of the Calvinistic position and a clean-cut alignment between themselves and the liberals. In this effort to clarify the issues 'The Panoplist' took an active part from its establishment in 1805 through the whole period of Evarts's editorial management.

The same spirit found expression in the organization of Park Street Church, which, founded in 1809, became at once the rallying-point of the 'evangelical' elements, drawing to itself congenial spirits from the older churches and contributing to the formation of a whole series of new orthodox congregations. There is a certain significance in the location of this church, devoted to the maintenance of the Puritan spirit, in its still commanding position at the upper end of Boston Common. A few hundred feet away on one side stood the Old State House and near by in the opposite direction was the New State House; close at hand, too, in the Granary Burying Ground, were the graves of such eighteenth-century Puritans as Samuel Sewall and Samuel Adams. Apparently the congregation was alive to the advantages of this situation and felt its responsibility for a dignified use of them. Even so fastidious a critic as Henry James could say of the Park Street spire that it was 'perfectly felicitous' — 'the most interesting mass of brick and mortar in America.' Of this church Evarts became a deacon.

Six years after the founding of Park Street Church, 'The Panoplist' contributed powerfully toward the differentiation of orthodox and liberal elements by a notable article, unsigned but generally supposed to have been written by Evarts. This was a review of Belsham's 'American Unitarianism,' an English pamphlet describing the progress of that movement in Massachusetts. The reviewer declared that Channing and the other liberal leaders were working within the Congregational fellowship to promote views absolutely at variance, not only with Calvinism, but with the whole Christian tradition. Coöperation between liberals and conservatives was held to be impossible and the reviewer quoted with approval the words of Belsham, himself a Unitarian: 'Those who hold doctrines so diametrically opposite cannot be fellow-worshipers in the same temple.' This 'Panoplist' article has been characterized by a recent Unitarian biogra-

pher of Channing as 'ably written and admirably calculated to do the mischief it was contrived to bring about.'

How fully this policy of separation was carried out by the conservatives may be seen in the founding during the next quarter-century of sixteen new orthodox churches, in Boston proper and in those neighboring towns now included in the corporate limits of the city. To these new pulpits were brought outstanding preachers of the Puritan 'counter-reformation' including some men who, while accepting the substance of the old theology, were able to restate it in such terms as to avoid unnecessary offense and to make a genuine popular appeal. Meantime, the Seminary at Andover served to offset the defection of Harvard and train up a new generation of ministers. In this enterprise also the editors of 'The Panoplist' were actively concerned.

Absorbing as the Unitarian controversy was, it did not by any means monopolize the attention of 'The Panoplist.' Other causes which commanded its steady support were: the new temperance movement, defended on economic as well as ethical principles; the cause of international peace, by no means forgotten even in the troubled period of the War of 1812; anti-slavery agitation on comparatively moderate lines; Bible Society work at home and abroad; and prison reform. In all these things, Evarts took the keenest interest; but the cause to which he gave his best energies during the later years of his life was that of Christian missions.

The American missionary movement of the nineteenth century is a fact of international significance, not only because it expressed a sense of religious obligations transcending national limits, but because it received much of its inspiration from similar movements on the other side of the Atlantic. Until the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary efforts of the reformed churches, whether Anglican or Calvinistic, were insignificant as compared with those of the Roman Communion; but the Wesleyan movement and

AN OLD PICTURE OF PARK STREET, BOSTON

Showing the Common on the left, the Governor Hancock house and the State House beyond, and Park Street Church and the Granary Burying-Ground at the right

the evangelical revival awakened a new sense of responsibility for the welfare of non-Christian peoples. The quarter-century which preceded the organization of the American Board was characterized by a notable series of Protestant missionary enterprises. A Baptist society was formed in 1792 and then followed in rapid succession the London Missionary Society, undenominational in spirit but receiving its main support from the dissenters; the Church Missionary Society representing especially the evangelical element in the established church; and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). The progress of these organizations and of the older Moravian missions was followed closely in 'The Panoplist,' which continued even during the period of strained relations, culminating in the War of 1812, to record sympathetically the work of the British societies.

The nature of the missionary appeal as it presented itself to men like Evarts may be illustrated by a 'Panoplist' article of May, 1810. Christians, it was said, should remember that 'the inhabitants of the greater part of the world know not a Bible, a Sabbath, or a church. . . . They pass their days in gross idolatry, and descend into the tomb without a ray of hope to gild the dreary passage. . . . One generation passes away after another to people the dark realms of woe. . . . Immortal souls launch into an eternity of which they were not informed, and for which they were entirely unprepared . . . and the unquenchable fire burns in their eternal home.' Yet the Son of God had died to save men from such a fate and Christians 'fired with divine love' must spread the gospel and carry forward his glorious work. Notwithstanding this emphasis on the saving of the individual soul, the aim of social regeneration was not ignored. In one of his best-known papers, Evarts insisted that Christianity was 'the only remedy for the disorders and miseries of this world, as well as the only foundation of hope for the world to come.' It was by the diffusion of Christianity that men would 'labor most effec-

tually to put a final period to oppression and slavery, to perfidy and war, and to all the train of evils which falsehood, ambition, and cruelty have so profusely scattered throughout the world.'

Evarts was one of those consulted in the formation of the American Board and at the second annual meeting became its treasurer. A year later he was chosen a corporate member and placed on the Prudential Committee, a position which he held continuously until his death in 1831. In 1822, he gave up the treasurer's office and was made corresponding secretary. It seems fair to say that during this formative period the policies of the Board and its administration were more largely influenced by him than by any other man. Before his death and largely through his efforts, missions had been established in India, Ceylon, China, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Near East.

Though the spirit of the Board and the scope of its operations were international, it worked also among the American Indians, more particularly at first among the Southern tribes — Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. The supervision of this work and the problems growing out of State and Federal policies affecting the Indians occupied much of Evarts's time, requiring frequent conferences with public men in Washington and extended tours to the mission fields. The difficulties between the Board's missionaries and the State of Georgia have left their mark in the constitutional history of the United States through Chief Justice Marshall's opinion in the case of Worcester *v.* Georgia and the refusal of that State to accept the Court's decisions. The claims of the Indians upon the justice and Christian feeling of the American people were vigorously urged by Evarts in a long series of papers and public correspondence including twenty-four essays over the signature of 'William Penn'; but the results were disappointing.

Thus the family tradition on the Evarts side was one of

vigorous thinking on religious and social problems, with a keen sense of responsibility for Christian service both at home and abroad. Notwithstanding the note of austerity in his thought and conduct, Evarts was remembered by some of those who knew him best as a 'remarkably kind and fraternal spirit.' On this human side, the family doubtless owed something to his wife, Mehitable Sherman, recalled by her nephew, George F. Hoar, as a woman 'not only of sprightly wit, but of great beauty.' Surviving her husband for many years, she lived for a considerable time with her son-in-law, David Greene. A visitor to the Greene home in 1842 recalled vividly in later years 'her striking features, her keen black eye' and her 'fine conversational power.'

After the death of Evarts in 1831, David Greene was advanced to a full secretaryship in the American Board, with special responsibility for the editing of the 'Missionary Herald,' the official organ of the Board, and for the supervision of the Indian missions. In this latter work Greene had already taken an important part. Of special interest is the report of a journey which he took on behalf of the Board in 1827–28. After attending the Charleston meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at which the Chickasaw mission was transferred to the Boston Society, he visited these Indians as well as the Cherokees and Choctaws. In the spring of 1828 he visited the tribes west of the Mississippi, proceeding up that river and the Arkansas to the Osage country. In the early summer he set out on the return journey, visiting on the way St. Louis, the Maumees of northern Ohio, and a group of Indian schools on the Niagara frontier. On his return to Boston in July, 1828, he had traveled about six thousand miles — a notable journey for those rough times before the coming of the railroad.

Greene's deep interest in his Indian charges continued throughout his official service and comes out also in his personal correspondence. In 1829, a friendly note to a college

classmate ends: 'We talk here about the poor Indians. Do you at New Haven feel any responsibility about the matter? Just think of the case, and see if it is not a hard one.' Those were the days when the frontiersmen and their President, Andrew Jackson, were working out their Indian policy with scant respect for missionaries or the Supreme Court of the United States.

In other ways, also, Greene's work brought him in contact with matters of national concern. Within his jurisdiction was the Oregon mission, with Marcus Whitman, whose part in the development of American interest in the Northwest, though exaggerated by uncritical admirers, still deserves to be remembered. To the American Board, as to other religious organizations of the time, the increasing heat of the slavery controversy became embarrassing, especially in connection with the Indian missions. Protests were made against the soliciting of missionary funds in the slave States; but in 1840 a committee of which Greene was a member reported against radical action, urging the need of caution in judging the character and motives of fellow-Christians. During the next few years, the question of slavery among the Indians of the Cherokee and Choctaw missions was repeatedly raised, and in 1842, one group of petitioners, complaining of the 'studied silence' of the Board on slavery, suggested that they might feel obliged to suspend their contributions. The cautious temper of the Board was again shown in instructions written by Secretary Greene in 1845; church members should be trained 'to act out in an exemplary manner, the spirit of the gospel toward the enslaved, emancipating them where duty to them admits of that; and where it does not, taking special pains to promote their social and religious welfare.'

Though Greene doubtless shared the prevailing ideas about the prime motives of missionary effort, he was also interested in its social aspects. The cultivation of the intellect, the

initiation of converts in the arts of civilized life, the symmetrical development of the individual and of the social group to which he belonged — all seemed to him proper parts of the missionary enterprise. He did not believe that 'poverty, insecurity of person or rights, or adversity of any kind' could be considered as generally 'favorable to the spread and vigorous growth of Christian piety or Christian institutions.' He was, therefore, anxious to improve the intellectual quality of the missionary workers so as to qualify them for such important tasks as that of translating the Bible and other Christian literature. They could then use the press to 'pour such treasures of science and thought and refined sentiment as the English language contains, into the language of one of the great Asiatic nations.'

Greene's active service as a missionary secretary came to an end in 1848, as the result of a breakdown in health, due partly to a railroad accident. He continued, however, to attend annual meetings of the Board and to keep in touch with his former associates. It was natural, therefore, that the missionary interest should form an important part of the family tradition in which his children grew up.

Greene's interest in the evangelical revival, like that of Evarts, was not limited to any one phase of that movement. He stood in close relations with the group of leaders in Park Street Church; and when, in 1827, a daughter church was organized in Salem Street, he was one of the original members. During the first years of his connection with the Board, his office was in the basement of Hanover Street Church, then under the pastorate of Lyman Beecher, one of the most effective preachers of the orthodox group. He was a life member of the American Home Missionary Society and drew up at least one report of the American Tract Society (Boston). In addition to all these varied activities, he had a modest, but not altogether unimportant, part in the improvement of church music.

It is an interesting fact that the 'Orthodox' Congregational churches were then giving special attention to their musical services. For some years, the choir of Park Street Church had an almost unique reputation; and when the Handel and Haydn Society was formed in 1815, several of its members were drawn from this choir. The musical standards of the Society were doubtless not such as to meet the approval of fastidious critics at the present time, but its rendering of such oratorios as 'The Creation' and 'The Messiah' was a notable event in the musical history of Boston; significant also in these Puritan surroundings was the singing in 1829 of selections from the masses of Haydn and Mozart.

The organist at Lyman Beecher's church was Lowell Mason, who has been described by a not altogether sympathetic critic as 'not a genius,' but a sincere lover of music and 'a clear-sighted practical man,' 'just the kind of a leader the American people could then understand and be willing to follow.' For several years he was active in the work of the Handel and Haydn Society, part of the time as its president; he later became the head of the Boston Academy of Music. As a composer he gave special attention to church music and a surprising number of the tunes which have held their place in American Protestant hymnals were composed or adapted by him. He may fairly be described as the chief musical advisor of the New England Puritan revival.

David Greene, himself, was a lover of music and his singing with his family was long remembered. He was also a choir singer and had some knowledge of musical composition. It was natural, therefore, that he should establish connections with Lowell Mason; and in 1831, they brought out together a compilation entitled 'The Church Psalmody; A Collection of psalms and hymns, adapted to public worship. Selected from Dr. Watts and other authors.' This publication was apparently well received; for the Boston Public Library Catalogue shows the issue of fourteen later editions beginning in

1832 and ending in 1864. This enumeration does not include three issues of the 'Manual of Christian Psalmody' which contains the same material with the addition of a few hymns adapted for use in Baptist churches. The choice of hymns was fairly catholic. Isaac Watts naturally stands out, with more than a third of the hymns and psalms; but Methodist, Lutheran, and Anglican collections are also drawn upon. The general point of view is suggested by the statement of the compilers that they had 'aimed to make a hymn book of a thoroughly evangelical character, in doctrine and spirit, and as highly lyrical as the materials, with such labor as could be bestowed upon them would permit.' Changes were accordingly made with some freedom. Suggestive also is the effort to avoid, on the one hand, formally didactic material and, on the other, the sentimental type of revival hymns.

The social contacts of David Greene and his family were naturally determined in considerable part by the religious interests already described. On the whole, the Boston constituency of the evangelical movement was drawn neither from the 'intellectuals' nor from the old families of wealth and social prestige. Both in Boston and in Roxbury, however, there were associations of one kind or another with representative men. In the earlier years of Greene's Boston career a few minutes' walk from his house or his place of business would have taken him to Federal Street (Unitarian) Church over which William Ellery Channing presided, or to another Unitarian church in Hanover Street where he might have heard Ralph Waldo Emerson during his short adventure in the ministry. Whether these opportunities were ever taken advantage of does not appear. Other notable figures in this liberal group, all within a fairly short radius from Park Street Church were James Freeman at King's Chapel, J. G. Palfrey, better known as historian and congressman; and Hosea Ballou, the Universalist.

An important institution for the intellectual life of Boston

was the Athenæum, founded in 1807. David Greene was apparently not one of the proprietors; but in 1834, he was authorized by a vote of the trustees to use the privileges of the library on payment of the usual dues.

The Roxbury neighborhood suggests associations of a more tangible sort. Greene's school-board service, for instance, brought him into relations with two conspicuous Massachusetts men of very different kinds. One was Theodore Parker, already referred to, who, while pastor of the Unitarian Church of West Roxbury, preached a radical discourse on 'The Transient and Permanent in Christianity' which startled even the liberals of his day. The other was Samuel H. Walley, Congregational deacon and active supporter of the American Board, but also a notable figure in Massachusetts finance and politics — bank president, promoter of improvements in transportation, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and member of Congress.

Walley was a member of the Eliot Church to which the Greenes belonged; other members in close personal relations were Joseph S. Ropes, a family connection by marriage, and Henry Hill, after whom David Greene named his youngest son. Both were conspicuous Boston merchants and leaders in foreign trade. Ropes had special interests in England and Russia, and had lived for some years in the latter country. Hill, for a time consul in Chili, had been engaged in the South American trade. Both took an active interest in missionary work and Hill was treasurer of the American Board while Greene was secretary. Another interesting family in the Roxbury of the thirties and forties was that of the brothers, Jacob and John S. C. Abbott, successively ministers of the Eliot Church. Jacob Abbott, the father of Lyman Abbott, is best remembered for his account of New England boyhood experiences in his 'Franconia Stories' and the 'Rollo Books.' The younger brother, John, had a considerable vogue in his day as a writer of popular biographies. Individually none of

the men just mentioned can claim a large place in the history of the State and the city, but they serve to illustrate the kind of laymen who were associated with David Greene in the religious activities of the time and the kind of world in which his children were growing up.

The father of the family was, in his prime, a man of tall, robust figure, with a fine head and dignified presence. As one of his sons has put it, he had 'an exceedingly capable body with a mind to match.' He seems to have had ordinarily a serious but friendly expression, lit up now and then by an 'engaging smile,' though his 'hearty laugh' was 'more seldom indulged.' A Puritan tendency to self-depreciation was perhaps a real weakness both in youth and in more mature years; but it was not inconsistent with dignity of manner, a fine courtesy, and some degree of eloquence, though his unusual rapidity of utterance seems at times to have been too much for his audience.

Surviving members of this household have recalled the mingling in the family life of serious discipline with some play of youthful spirits. One of them recalls the picture of a child in an old-fashioned horsehair chair being taught the Westminster Catechism — 'What is the chief end of man?' is the question, with the expected answer, 'To glorify God and enjoy him forever.' As the children came home from school, they were expected to show what they had learned; but this Puritan father was not always serious, and the author of the 'Church Psalmody' was quite capable of riding a child on his foot to the tune of a nursery jingle. All deductions made, however, it was Puritan sentiment which determined the tone of family life. The typical New England community was still one in which Sunday observance was general and in which failure to attend church, though no longer subject to civil penalties, did nevertheless bring the offending individual into disrepute. Jacob Abbott, in a book published anonymously in 1835, could still confine his list of public holidays to Thanks-

giving Day, Fast Day, and the Fourth of July; and something of the old Puritan disapproval of Christmas festivities still lingered.

In the matter of Sunday observance the Greene family seems to have been fairly typical. Labor in the preparation of meals was reduced to a minimum and ordinary amusements discountenanced. Yet such restrictions as these were not always felt quite as may now be supposed by a generation accustomed to other manners; and some at least of those who were brought up under this régime have looked back to it affectionately. The father's interest in music and his own singing lingered as pleasant memories in the minds of his children. One hymn in particular, 'Tallis's Evening Hymn' with the well-known words of Bishop Ken, has an established place in the family tradition. Though religious thought and feeling in this circle were conservative the spirit of sympathy and coöperation with Christians of other denominations was growing. David Greene himself was far from being a rigid sectarian.

In a family, which finally numbered twelve children, the responsibilities of the mother were obviously heavy; but until her final illness, soon after the birth of her youngest child, she seems to have been less worn by her responsibilities than was to have been expected. This was, perhaps, the result partly of a naturally serene temperament, suggested by a portrait taken in later life; partly of a methodical habit of mind which she seems to have shared with her husband. Family tradition, however, emphasizes most the affectionate relations which existed between the husband and wife, and the mother and her children.

It was a home in which public men and events were talked about. The regular daily paper, in the later years was the 'Boston Traveler.' Besides the 'Missionary Herald' (preserved in bound volumes), there were the 'Bibliotheca-Sacra,' then edited by members of the Andover faculty, and such

secular periodicals as the 'North American Review' and 'Littell's Living Age.' When Greene retired from the town to engage in farming, he added an agricultural paper and took some interest in the 'scientific agriculture' of the time. There was a considerable household library, made up largely, but by no means wholly, of religious books.

The political sympathies of the family were Whig and, later, Republican. David Greene is remembered as an admirer of Webster and Clay and he did not like the Garrisonian type of anti-slavery agitation; but on the issues of the fifties and sixties he went with other men of moderate anti-slavery views into the new Republican party. This course seems to have been that of the family connections as a whole. As the boys grew up, they could think of their maternal uncle, William M. Evarts, first as a rising Whig lawyer, and then as a conspicuous figure in New York Republican politics. Among the Massachusetts relatives, the Hoars of Concord and Worcester, cousins on the Evarts-Sherman side of the house, were conspicuous for their anti-slavery attitude.

Such in brief was the environment into which Crosby Greene was born a little more than five years before his father left his chosen profession and the comparatively varied interests of Boston, for the quiet life of a farm and a country town.

CHAPTER II

A NEW ENGLAND BOYHOOD, 1843–1864

On March 1, 1843, David Greene wrote to his wife's cousin, Henry White, of New Haven: 'On the 11th of February we took another step in the family line, which brought us as near to having half a score of children, as could be without reaching that point.' 'But,' he added, 'in the midst of life we are in death,' and went on to record the death of the Reverend Daniel Crosby, a close friend and an associate in the work of the American Board. 'Take him all in all, he was the best model of a minister that I knew.' Two days later, Greene preached his friend's funeral sermon, subsequently printed, entitled 'Ministerial Fidelity Exemplified.' With such associations in mind, the newcomer in the Greene household received the name of Daniel Crosby; and it was as Crosby, rather than Daniel, that he was spoken of in the family. The choice of name for this son was quite in line with the family practice. The oldest son was David Brainerd, after the well-known missionary to the Indians; two others bore the names of Jeremiah Evarts and Samuel Green, both family names but recalling also common religious interests; the youngest son was named after another officer of the American Board.

The Roxbury of Crosby Greene's childhood was a rapidly growing town; in 1846 it received a municipal charter, but it was not yet submerged in the metropolitan life of Boston. In a letter of this period, Amos Lawrence speaks with enthusiasm of the Roxbury and Dorchester hills, 'a transcript of the beautiful scenery around Jerusalem.' The Greene house on Cedar Street was in a pleasant neighborhood, with a yard large enough to include a chicken house, some fruit trees, and

MARY EVARTS GREENE

DAVID GREENE

a vegetable garden where even the smaller boys had individual plots to cultivate.

David Greene had been trained in carpentry from boyhood and in his Roxbury house there was provided a workshop equipped for household uses and for recreation in spare hours. The children were early initiated and orderly habits in the keeping of tools were insisted upon. Another kind of training was provided for boys and girls alike in the nursery. Most of the family clothing except for the father was made up at home, and the children were taught the mysteries of sewing, darning, and knitting. School facilities were good here and Crosby had reached the primary school before the family left Roxbury. One of his brothers recalls his insatiable curiosity; he was 'habitually asking questions, sublimely reckless of exposing his ignorance.' Another family memory of these early years was the specially affectionate relation between this younger child and the mother who died when he was only seven years old.

Shortly after resigning his secretaryship in the American Board, David Greene moved with his family to the little town of Westborough, a few miles east of Worcester. The town was set in a peaceful country landscape with low-lying hills, and the village center was fringed by typical New England farms, with outcropping rocks and the familiar stone walls. It was on one of these farms that the Greene family was established in 1849. Farming was not, however, the only interest of the town. About fifteen years earlier it had become a station on the new Boston and Worcester Railroad (now a part of the Boston and Albany); and about the same time there developed a considerable boot and shoe industry. On the outskirts was a State reform school for boys.

The main energies of the father were devoted to the farm where he gradually recovered his health; but he was actively interested in town affairs and, though without any pastoral

relation, sometimes spoke in the 'orthodox' church of which he was a member. Here, too, the 'Unitarian controversy' had left its mark. The original 'society' or parish was affiliated with the Unitarians, while the orthodox element withdrew to form a new 'society' and build a new meeting house. The seceding group gradually established itself as the most prosperous and influential church in town. Of this church Crosby Greene became a member while in college, and to it most of his circle of family friends belonged. At some disadvantage in social prestige, according to the ideas of the time, were the Baptist, Methodist, and Catholic churches, the latter just beginning to get a footing. There was a serious interest in the schools, though the first high school was not established until 1854, and in providing library facilities. The Union Library Society, founded early in the nineteenth century, was later combined with the Library of the 'Mechanics Association.' The whole collection had in 1849 a little less than five hundred volumes and in 1857 became the town library.

The country life at Westborough brought, to the younger boys especially, a fresh and interesting experience; but in 1850 came the death of the mother which was keenly felt. Less than two years later, their house was burned and the children had to be distributed for a time among relatives and friends. By the autumn of 1852, however, the scattered family was united in Windsor, Vermont, where David Greene lived for eight years, first in a house belonging to his brother-in-law, William M. Evarts, and later on a farm of his own about two miles north of the town. This was not the end, however, of the family connection with Westborough. In 1860, after the older sons and daughters had begun to make their own way in the world, the father, with the help of his oldest daughter, gathered his diminished family together again at Westborough, which remained the family center from that time until his death in 1866.

For Crosby Greene, however, farm life was chiefly asso-

ciated with the eight years spent at Windsor. To a boy of his age Windsor offered many advantages, not the least of which was the beauty of its situation, on the western bank of the Connecticut, with Mount Ascutney on the Vermont side rising to a height of over three thousand feet, and the Cornish hills across the river in New Hampshire. About half a century earlier, Timothy Dwight visited the place and was much impressed: 'The rough bank on the opposite side of the river, the river itself, the luxuriant interval, the plains, the town, the hills, and the magnificent mountain, form a group of objects on which no eye, delighted with the beauties of nature, can fail to rest with peculiar pleasure.'

In the fifties Windsor was, as it still is, one of the larger country towns in a distinctly rural commonwealth. There were already railroad connections with Boston, New York, and Montreal. Two newspapers of some repute were published here: the 'Vermont Chronicle' edited for several years by E. C. Tracy, who married one of Jeremiah Evarts's daughters and wrote his biography; and the 'Vermont Journal.' The Windsor editor of that decade assumed somewhat more literary interest on the part of his readers than is ordinarily expected by the country press of the present day. Among the periodicals reviewed from time to time were: 'Knickerbocker's,' 'Harper's New Monthly Magazine,' 'Putnam's Monthly,' 'Godey's Lady's Book,' and 'Littell's Living Age.' Other intellectual advantages provided were visits from distinguished lecturers. In 1856, the 'Vermont Journal' announced lectures for Windsor and its immediate vicinity, by Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Parker, and John G. Saxe. The school system was sufficiently developed to include a high school. Historically also Windsor was a place of some interest. Here the first State constitution was formed and the first legislature met. Although the capital had long since been removed elsewhere, the town continued to be a business center for that part of the State.

Life on David Greene's farm was fairly typical, for that vicinity and for rural New England generally. He owned about a hundred acres, and a fire insurance policy which he took out in 1853 shows a dwelling house with shed attached, three barns, a carriage house, and a piggery. The whole was valued at $1500, subject to mortgage.

One of the sons has given an interesting picture of the farm routine, much of which fell to Crosby and himself — hoeing, haymaking, planting of garden vegetables, driving the cows to and from pasture, and cutting fodder; farm machinery also had to be cared for and tools of other kinds. One of the boys, perhaps both, learned to 'spin wool sheared from our own sheep.' They were trained in the responsibilities of ownership; they owned one heifer together and each of them had two or three sheep, with some chickens. To meet the expense of feeding this stock, they were credited with part of their farm work; but they were also paid in cash for help with the family woodpile. Hired help was employed at harvesting time; but 'in amount of work done and skill in doing it,' the father, is said to have 'equalled or excelled any farm hand who worked with him.' Farm machinery was then coming into use, but much of the work was still done in primitive ways. In the early days at Westborough and Windsor, small grains were threshed by flail on the barn floor and winnowed there by wind on the first convenient windy day; later this was done by a machine which went from farm to farm. Under such conditions, boys learned how to use their hands effectively and got real intellectual discipline as well.

The household religious observances have already been mentioned. 'Family devotions morning and evening were as regular as our meals' and the children contributed their share by the reading of Bible verses. On Sundays, there were two church services and in the afternoon the whole family gathered to go through the Westminster Shorter Catechism which the children soon came to know by heart. In addition to the

traditional holidays — Thanksgiving Day, Fast Day, and the Fourth of July — the Greenes observed New Year's Day with family reunions and the giving of presents. Christmas still had 'scant attention,' though the Puritan prejudice against it was gradually wearing away. The Fourth-of-July parade was a picturesque affair much enjoyed by the children, when the 'Continentals' marched in uniforms reminiscent of the Revolutionary War. Boyish patriotism also found expression in mimic battles between 'British' and 'Americans' in which 'it was the duty of the Americans to whip the British, and of the British to be whipped.' This seems to have been especially popular as a winter sport when snow was available for making forts.

Besides the discipline of the home and of the farm, there was the more formal education of the grammar school and the high school, both of which Crosby Greene attended during these years at Windsor. By 1860, he was ready for college; and, though the question of expense had to be seriously considered, his family was ready to do what it could. Of David Greene's four oldest sons, three were already college graduates, one each at Williams, Yale, and Dartmouth. Notwithstanding the family interest in Yale, the country colleges of northern New England had some advantages for a family of limited resources and it was in one of these institutions that Crosby Greene began his college course in the winter of 1860–61.

Middlebury College in western Vermont was a small institution founded about sixty years before on the edge of the wilderness, under strongly religious auspices and with the hearty approval of President Dwight. In this little college, where a future brother-in-law was then teaching rhetoric and English literature, Greene spent only a few months. He formed, however, some acquaintances which were remembered in after years. In 1888, during a short stay in Germany, he met one of these Middlebury classmates. Another wrote to

a friend, after the lapse of more than half a century, his 'vivid remembrance' of young Greene as a keen but modest student, 'refined and earnest and deeply conscientious.' The resources of Middlebury were, however, meager, even according to the standards of that day. So in the autumn of 1861, he entered Dartmouth College, where he remained during the greater part of the next three years, and received his bachelor's degree in the summer of 1864.

Hanover, New Hampshire, the seat of the college, was some twenty miles up the Connecticut from Windsor. Then, as now, it was a small village in a sparsely settled section of the State. There were some comparatively level farming areas in the neighborhood of the college; but there were also picturesque ravines and wooded slopes bordering the river, with rugged hills in the background on both sides. Along one side of the village green, facing westward across it toward the river about half a mile away, there stood in 1861 four plain but substantial college buildings. In the center was Dartmouth Hall, built just after the close of the Revolutionary War and named after the Earl of Dartmouth, the chief English patron of the college at the time of its incorporation by royal charter in 1769. This historic building, since destroyed by fire, has been replaced by a new one bearing the same name and on substantially the same architectural lines. So it happens, that notwithstanding the recent expansion of the college, this group of older buildings presents much the same appearance now as it did in the sixties.

When Crosby Greene entered Dartmouth in 1861, it ranked among the more important New England colleges. During the decade preceding the Civil War, it sent out over six hundred graduates as against a little less than nine hundred for Harvard. A comparison based on the scholarly distinction of its faculty would have been less favorable to Dartmouth.

William J. Tucker, afterwards president of the college,

who was a student there during the fifties, has pointed out that at Dartmouth, as in other colleges of the time, the curriculum of the first two years offered 'little change from the studies of the preparatory school.' Greek and Latin classics formed the backbone of the course and the Professor of Greek, Putnam, seems to have been the man who, in the early sixties, left the most definite impression of scholarship. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the college in those days was the comparative uniformity of its training. To quote Tucker again. 'The college acted constantly through its totality. Whatever it had to offer intellectually or morally, it brought to bear in its unity upon every student. . . . The old-time faculty was a group of scholars of similar training, and pervaded by a common educational purpose'; as compared, that is to say, with the specialists of the present day. These generalizations, to be taken, doubtless, with some qualifications, represent fairly well both the strength and the limitations of Dartmouth in the sixties. The college library was difficult of access and little used by the students; but the literary societies had books to lend, upper-classmen having a certain priority in their use.

The most conspicuous and picturesque figure in the earlier part of Greene's course was undoubtedly President Lord, a Congregational minister who had already presided over the college for more than thirty years. A vigorous, independent personality, he had done much to build up the institution; but at the outbreak of the Civil War, he was nearly seventy years old and possessed of certain strong, and sometimes unpopular, convictions. One of these impelled him to defend slavery, not as an ideal institution, but as a necessary part of the divine order; and, when the war broke out, he charged the abolitionists with the principal responsibility for that calamity. Such utterances were hardly adapted to the latitude of northern New England in war-time and by 1863 the pressure of public opinion was so strongly against him that

the trustees declared publicly their dissent from his views. Thereupon the old man presented his resignation, which was promptly accepted.

In the college records of the time are set down the marks of each student, term by term for each of his studies, together with summaries of absences from recitations and from compulsory chapel exercises, whether 'excused' or 'unexcused.' In Crosby Greene's case they show a rather high average of scholarship, sufficient to give him a place in the first third of his class and election to the honorary Phi Beta Kappa Society. In the opinion of one of his closest intimates, this record was made somewhat easily and with some time for social intercourse. This particular classmate was a fellow-member of the Psi Upsilon fraternity and was struck by a certain fineness and elevation about him. Yet 'he was never a recluse; he liked the fellowship of college and seminary life.'

Life at Hanover in those days was simple enough; the surroundings were rural and so was the constituency from which the students were drawn. Greene's roommate in Reed Hall, a comparatively new dormitory, was one of his Windsor cousins, and the other students came mainly from country towns; more than half were born in New Hampshire and Vermont. There were, of course, no athletic sports of the highly organized kind now familiar in American colleges; there was some football of an informal kind, but the first college baseball nine was organized in 1867. There are references, however, to bathing in the river and to country walks. A classmate tells of one swimming party at which Greene rescued a companion who had got beyond his depth. Walking was nearly all his life a favorite recreation and there were unusual opportunities for it in the attractive surroundings of Hanover. A letter, written in June, 1862, to one of his brothers, tells of walking five or six miles nearly every day during the previous term and often as many as eight. 'I

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 1851

think that I feel better for this and I intend to keep up the practice of walking from four to six miles a day this term.'

There were some financial anxieties. Near the close of his first year at Dartmouth, Greene estimated the year's expenses, including vacations and clothing, at about $212, of which he had himself earned about $50. Like many other students, he earned a part of his expenses by teaching in a country school during the winter intermission, which could be extended into term time without serious objection from the college authorities. In February, 1862, he wrote to his cousin and college roommate, apologizing for a delay in writing because he had been 'oppressed' by 'the duties of a pedagogue.' Happily the committee which examined his school at the end of the term was able to certify that the young teacher — he was not quite nineteen — and his pupils had done their work, 'creditably both to the teacher and scholars.' He had no sooner finished this engagement, however, before he proceeded to spend a week in visiting schools, 'trying to benefit myself through the experience of others.'

On the religious phase of Greene's college experience, there is substantial agreement of testimony from widely different points of view. One classmate writes: 'He belonged to a group of men with whom I was not very much in touch. They were rather more serious minded and inclined to matters of a religious nature which I did not at that time particularly participate in, but I always knew him as a very genial chap.' This is in harmony with the recollections of other men who shared the interests of this 'serious-minded' group. Greene took part in the voluntary religious meetings, which supplemented the required chapel exercises and the Sunday services in the college church; but though his high sense of personal honor and his strong religious convictions were generally recognized, there was also, then as in later life, a certain shyness about intimate talk on such topics.

A few years later, Greene wrote in response to an inquiry

from the American Board a brief statement of his religious attitude while at college. Though 'surrounded,' he writes, 'by the best of Christian influences, it was not until my first year in college, that I began to consider myself a Christian, and not until the beginning of senior year, that I made a public profession of religion.' It was in that year that he became a member of the family church at Westborough. The conservative Puritan tradition against premature church membership evidently persisted in the family, though the very different view represented by Horace Bushnell's 'Christian Nurture' was gradually making its way in the Congregational churches.

In striking contrast with the more normal aspects of college life was the reaction of faculty and students to the issues of the Civil War. Notwithstanding the conservative attitude of President Lord, the prevailing sentiment was strongly on the Union side. News of Union victories were received with college demonstrations not unlike those now reserved for successes on the athletic field, and popular members of the faculty were called out to make speeches. One of the strongest traditions of Dartmouth is its enthusiasm for Daniel Webster, the most distinguished of its graduates and the eloquent champion of national unity. It was natural, therefore, that a comparatively large number of Dartmouth men should enter the Union service. Faculty opinion about student enlistments was somewhat conservative and there was no general exodus during the first year of the war; but in the spring of 1862, the feeling became more intense and about thirty-five students withdrew to form the nucleus, with other college boys, of Company B, Seventh Squadron, Rhode Island Cavalry. This troop was mustered into service at Washington, July 3, 1862, to serve for three months and was mustered out October 2d.

Already the war had been brought close home to Crosby Greene and his family. Three of his four brothers who had

reached military age became captains in the army. The two oldest saw service during the first year of the war; one of them was wounded in the battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri and the other, having been captured at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, was for several months a prisoner in Richmond. In June, 1862, Crosby Greene wrote to one of his brothers about enlisting and added: 'I should not object to going if father would be willing, but I do not think there is much danger of his allowing it and so I think I will not ask him.' A few days later, however, he decided to join the company and was presently mustered in with his comrades at Washington.

From Washington, the 'College Cavaliers' as they have been called, were ordered to Winchester, where they were kept pretty steadily in the saddle, foraging, scouting, and picketing. When a little later, the Union forces evacuated Winchester and retreated to Harper's Ferry, Greene and one of his classmates were among those detailed to service at the abandoned camp. They were to remain until the lighted fuses had exploded the powder magazine and then burn the supplies which might otherwise fall into the enemy's hands. This task accomplished, they hastened to join their comrades at Harper's Ferry. Unfortunately, General Miles, who commanded that post, thought himself obliged to surrender it; but the cavalry, including the Rhode Island squadron, managed to get out and proceeded across Maryland to Greencastle, Pennsylvania, just missing a serious encounter with a section of Lee's advancing army, but taking a considerable number of his ammunition wagons. This was the end of serious military service for this college troop.

The War Department record shows that Private Greene was mustered out with his company at Providence and his military experience seems to have been followed by a serious illness. He recovered sufficiently, however, to resume his college work during the academic year, 1862–63, though the records indicate absence from the campus for twelve weeks.

At the end of his college course, this young man of twenty-one had received a fairly rounded training. He had a substantial amount of Greek and Latin, with a modicum of French and German — a linguistic equipment which, reenforced by later studies, proved highly serviceable to him as a missionary translator. The senior year gave him the traditional instruction in philosophy, while his scientific and mathematical studies (including some civil engineering) had gone far enough to enable him to make some practical use of them afterwards. About his writing, he complained just before entering the army: 'What troubles me most is that I am no hand at writing which is considered about the most important thing we have. I have tried a good deal, but my essays are the poorest apologies that ever any one composed and I begin to think I never can succeed in doing anything in this line. I do not know exactly how to go to work to improve myself or I should do it as I think [I] see its importance.' A classmate has spoken more favorably of Greene's rhetorical ability, observing, however, that he did not have an effective voice for public speaking. To his academic advantages, Greene could add as further qualifications for future service the discipline of the farm, a limited experience as a country school teacher, and finally the very different experience of army life.

Of Greene's classmates, the largest number became teachers; lawyers and physicians came next; and though several went into the ministry, the proportion was probably smaller than in some of the other New England colleges. Greene considered going into medicine and ultimately chose the ministry; but for the time being he took up teaching and turning westward found a position in the little Wisconsin town of Palmyra.

CHAPTER III

MIDDLE-WESTERN EXPERIENCES AND DECISIONS 1864–1867

Crosby Greene's move to the West in 1864 was in some respects quite natural. For several generations his family on both sides had held closely to New England; but his grandfather and his father had come in contact with the West through their interest in the Indian missions. David Greene, especially, had traveled widely in the 'old Northwest' and knew it much better than most New-Englanders of his time. Before his death in 1866, all his sons except the youngest had found their way to the West for longer or shorter periods of time. One of them was for a time a surveyor on the Missouri–Kansas border and saw something of life on the Santa Fé Trail.

During the three years of Crosby Greene's life in the West, two of his brothers and one married sister were living in Chicago and the immediate vicinity. This family experience, by no means unique, is a striking illustration of that New England dispersion which is so important a phase of American history. Greene's college class showed a similar westward tendency. Of fifty Dartmouth graduates in the class of 1864 more than twenty, nearly all New-Englanders by birth, went West within four years after graduation.

For a New-Englander, life in a Middle-Western country town was an educational experience. Palmyra, where Greene had been appointed principal in charge of a 'Union School,' was in southern Wisconsin, about forty miles west of Milwaukee. It was 'a pleasant little village' in the Rock River Valley, bordered on the south by 'high bluffs or low ridges according as you look at them from an eastern or western point of view.' Greene's first impressions of the town were

not enthusiastic, and the early letters which he sent back to Massachusetts emphasize his preference for Eastern ways and Eastern people. As time went on, however, he felt more at home and made some good friends.

There was a considerable New England element in this town, with a Congregational church; there was even a Fast Day observance, though with somewhat less than orthodox strictness. The houses were small, but it was possible to live comfortably, and though there were few men of much wealth, 'quite a number of intelligent persons' might be found, 'especially among the ladies' — about as many, the young teacher thought, as in his home town of Westborough. He remarked that Western people seemed, in general, 'more open and frank' than the Easterners; also more generous in their giving to charitable objects. They traveled more freely too: 'It is nothing for them to make a journey of one hundred miles, while at the East it is considered quite an undertaking.'

The closing scenes of the Civil War are reflected here and there in Greene's letters. Writing of a Missouri regiment in which his brother-in-law had been offered a commission, he adds: 'I wish I could get a commission in that regt. for I do not think I have seen quite my share of service.' Answering a friendly objection, he argued that it might be positively beneficial to his health 'to go into Missouri and fight the guerillas.' A few days later events in Virginia and the Carolinas made further discussion unnecessary. Shortly after the assassination of Lincoln, Greene passed through Milwaukee, finding the streets draped in mourning, and the people 'moved as I never saw the mass of the people moved before.' Palmyra, too, had its memorial service. Later in the spring and early summer came fairs for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. Then, in country and city, men settled down to the normal interests and routine of life.

School experiences naturally entered largely into the young teacher's correspondence. There were difficulties with dis-

cipline; but before the year ended, he had apparently won the regard of his pupils and of the community. Much of his time and thought, however, centered about the little Congregational church which seemed to need more masculine support. Here he combined the functions of a sexton, Sunday school superintendent, and teacher, with an increasing sense of religious responsibility. When told by a home missionary agent that the pastorate of this church was a hard place to fill, he resented the latter's doubt, 'whether he ought to spend the money of the Society in a place seemingly so forsaken of God.' A poor reason, Greene thought, for abandoning the field.

Along with his professional and social obligations, the young man had to work on his own personal problem — the choice of a permanent career. For a time, he thought of going into medicine. It was necessary, however, to save some money before he could begin his professional training and his income as a teacher did not carry him far in this direction. Other possibilities came into his mind. The finding of oil in this neighborhood aroused sufficient interest to lead to the formation of a stock company, in which Greene made a small investment, and there was some actual drilling. Soon, however, the hope of a substantial return from this investment faded away and he decided to go on with his teaching for the present. By the summer of 1865, his mind was turning more and more toward the ministry and within the next few months he decided definitely on that profession.

During this period of uncertainty, he was writing steadily of his problems, anxieties, and hopes to a young girl from his home town of Westborough, then completing her course in Mount Holyoke Seminary, the leading institution in New England for the higher education of women. Mary Jane Forbes belonged to a family of Scottish descent which had settled in Worcester County in the seventeenth century. Her father, Daniel H. Forbes, after some years of teaching at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and elsewhere, was compelled

by ill-health to return to a farm in his home town of Westborough where he spent his last years. He did not, however, give up his interest in public affairs, serving one term as representative in the Massachusetts legislature and for several years as a resident trustee of the State Reform School for boys. Daniel Forbes and his wife both died before any of their children grew up, leaving their daughter and two sons to the care of a maternal grandmother. His daughter, however, was not too young to retain a vivid impression of her father as a man of strong religious feeling and distinctly Puritan temper. She treasured all her life the parting message which he wrote for his children: 'I desire more that you be truthful and honest than that you should be rich and great in the opinion of men. O that I could show you the vanity of worldly honors and of riches any farther than they are consecrated to God!'

In 1865, Mary Forbes was a brown-eyed, rather slight girl of nineteen, lively, high-spirited, and affectionate. She had intellectual interests, too, and her scholarship was recognized by her appointment after graduation as a teacher in the seminary. As a natural result of her early environment and the strongly religious spirit of the seminary, she became a church member during her course there; but with this genuine religious feeling she combined a keen interest in the normal pleasures of youth. 'You seem,' said her future husband, 'to have the faculty of finding pleasure where there is any to be found.' Greene's attachment, formed while an undergraduate, was developed by a regular correspondence which began soon after his arrival in Wisconsin, and during that winter they were definitely engaged. Four years passed before their marriage, but during those years they established a comradeship which they kept unspoiled until the end.

The new partner was, of course, consulted about the choice of a profession and had some misgivings at first, which Greene set himself to overcome: 'Don't think,' he wrote, 'that because I write so seriously of this matter that I am getting to

MARY JANE FORBES
About 1865

be a stern old puritan and have forgotten how to be jovial, for I cannot detect any change of that kind and probably you would not.' Before long, however, she joined in his decision loyally and without reserve. It was indeed the natural result of fundamental agreement in their conceptions of Christian service.

Meantime, the pressing question was one of temporary occupation until the prospective minister could afford to devote himself to his professional studies. Miss Forbes went back to teach at Mount Holyoke and Greene looked for a new position which could offer larger returns than the one at Palmyra. He took an examination for a position in the Chicago high school and was told that his name stood first on the examination list, but the first appointment went to a more experienced man. After considering other possibilities he decided to take a place in the public schools of Waukegan, Illinois, and taught there until the end of the school year, 1865–66.

Meantime the summer vacation of 1865 brought useful contacts with the world outside the schoolroom. In his brother's Chicago office, Greene enlarged his knowledge of business methods by performing such routine duties as filing receipts and invoices or copying letters. Much more interesting was a business trip to 'Canada West,' undertaken for an associate of his brother's. The journey was made by steamboat from Chicago through the Straits of Mackinaw to Sarnia, and thence on horseback to Bothwell, then the scene of a lively oil 'boom.' One of Greene's letters gives a vivid account of this place which reminds one of more recent developments in the oil industry: 'Bothwell is quite a small place in itself, but now it is filled to overflowing with speculators from nearly all the larger cities of the Northern U.S. besides a few from Canada. Men are making money very fast there, and if I had had a larger capital to start with I think I should have tried my skill, but I never could have brass enough to do it, as the genuine speculator will (i.e. buy property when he has nothing to

pay for it with, trusting that it will rise in value, so that he can make his promises good at the appointed time).'

A few weeks after his return from the Canadian expedition, Greene was adjusting himself to his new teaching position. Waukegan was then a town of some four thousand people, about an hour's railroad journey from Chicago on the main line to Milwaukee. This comparatively recent railroad connection had checked the business development of the town; but, with the advantage of a picturesque situation on a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan, had brought it within the outer edge of the suburban area and some Chicago men were already making their homes here. Even the somewhat critical young New-Englander remarked that there were 'many handsome places' and that 'more attention' was 'paid to matters of taste in fitting up the houses and preparing the grounds than is customary in Western country places.'

As principal of the grammar school, Greene was responsible for somewhat less than a hundred pupils — whose studies seem to have been on the border line between those now considered as high-school subjects and those of the upper elementary grades. School discipline had apparently been neglected and presented some difficulties; but he thought that his young pupils generally meant well, and that he would be 'able to subdue the little barbarians in time.' At any rate, when the school year closed, he could look back on it as one of real pleasure, on his part, and of apparent satisfaction on the part of pupils, parents, and school authorities.

In Waukegan, as in Palmyra, Greene identified himself closely with the religious activities of the community. He was strongly attracted to the Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Yale and of Princeton Theological Seminary, 'probably the most cultivated man in town'; but early associations held him to the Congregational church, especially because of its apparent need for such help as he could give. A few weeks after his arrival in town, he formally transferred his

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membership from the Westborough church to this Waukegan congregation. His subsequent correspondence contains frequent reference to participation in church activities, including a series of special meetings intended to stimulate religious interest. One feels, however, that the emotional atmosphere of the 'revival' was not one in which he felt quite at home. For him the religious spirit found more natural expression in other ways. In one of his letters he mentions the difficulty of expressing himself on religious topics — 'I do not know that I ever had an opportunity to speak with any one who was enquiring the way to Christ, but I have always felt that I should not know what to say, and have been almost afraid that I am not a Christian myself, since I am ignorant of the way to guide others to him.' A few days later, he wrote: 'Frequently I am alarmed that I feel so little emotion on religious topics.' Though not untouched by the interdenominational rivalries of the time, he was not an extreme sectarian. Attending, apparently for the first time, a funeral service in an Episcopal church, he spoke of it as 'very impressive and appropriate.'

The lighter aspects of life are not altogether absent from this correspondence. There are references to horseback riding, fishing, and various social gatherings — the latter limited less by diffidence than by the fact that, so far as the ladies were concerned, his affections were already fixed. There were definite reading plans also which were discussed with his principal correspondent — the English Bible, the New Testament in Greek (following the example of his father who had been accustomed to read it through once or twice a year), besides a good deal of general literature. Tennyson appealed to him strongly. 'Have you read his "Miller's Daughter," or his "Saint Agnes"? If you have not, I wish you would. . . . If you have not read "Enoch Arden," I will send on the small edition.' Somewhat later, he reported having just read several of Shakespeare's comedies and expressed special enthusiasm for the 'Comedy of Errors.' In May, 1866, he was

ordering Felton's edition of the 'Iliad,' and Montaigne. Lamb was another favorite — 'Did you ever read the essays of Elia? If you have not, I will send them on one of these days.' Other books in his reading list were Sir William Hamilton's 'Discussions in Philosophy and Literature' and Macaulay's 'History of England.' No other contemporary prose writer, however, seems to have appealed to him so strongly as Dr. John Brown, the author of 'Rab and His Friends.'

Aside from his personal reading, there were some demands made on him in the community which kept alive his interest in science. At one teachers' meeting he had to lecture on geology; at another he presided over a discussion of the theory of ocean currents. He had a keen interest in mechanics and found fault with himself for spending too much time 'fussing' with such matters. 'Last year, for instance, I made an electrical machine for no other earthly reason beyond the pleasure of making it . . . though I will say it was a good machine for its size.'

Life at Waukegan was comparatively uneventful; but there are now and then reminders of what was going on in the larger world. One of Greene's brothers, an officer in a negro regiment, was being held in the service because 'the government finds it very hard to get suitable officers for the colored troops, and now that it seems advisable to keep a strong force within a short distance of Mexico, it will be harder than ever.' While the French intervention was causing anxiety on the southern border, Fenian activities were threatening complications in the North and causing some excitement even in Waukegan. In March, the Fenians were 'trying hard to raise recruits here and were out this afternoon with drums endeavoring to infuse a martial spirit into the Irish patriots of the city. To-night they hold a meeting in the largest hall in the city.'

The location of Waukegan made possible week-end and holiday visits to Chicago and especially the North Shore

suburb of Evanston, another place where the New England element was relatively strong. By 1865 there were two Evanston households of the Greene connection, soon to be reënforced by a third, in which the young teacher could make himself at home. The death of David Greene in 1866 and the breaking up of the household at Westborough emphasized still further the shifting of the family center toward the West. Among these transplanted New-Englanders, the Puritan tradition was still strong. For a time, they joined the Presbyterians in a Union church, but presently they formed a separate Congregational church. Of both these organizations, Crosby Greene became in turn a member.

Thanksgiving Day brought the usual New England celebration — church in the morning and a family reunion at dinner. 'After dinner we took a walk and the smokers smoked, but I was not able to sustain my part at this juncture, because, you will undoubtedly be grieved to learn, I have not acquired the accomplishment.' Less in accord with New England traditions was the celebration of a 'veritable Christmas' in his sister's home; the custom of Christmas gifts was now taken as a matter of course. New Year's Day was observed with due formality in receiving and paying calls. The men spent a good part of the day in the round of visits, 'from about half past ten in the morning till after six in the evening.' Altogether the brothers made seventy-seven calls. 'A large proportion of the ladies set their tables and seemed inclined to feel troubled if we refused to eat, so we were by no means hungry when we finished our day's work.'

The most significant event of the year at Waukegan was the definite decision, already noted, to enter the ministry. Greene's state of mind is reflected in a letter to Mary Forbes in the autumn of 1865. Regretting that she was not yet wholly convinced, he added: 'My conviction is increasing in strength every day. . . . I cannot look back upon the last five years of my life without coming to the conclusion that God

has been leading me to this decision . . . for all these years I had, what almost amounted to a conviction, that it was my duty to be a minister, which I have tried to smother, but it has at last risen above everything else.' Whether his service should be at home or abroad was a question which he was already debating, with a growing inclination toward foreign missions. In 1865, he attended the annual meeting of the American Board, in Chicago, and was deeply impressed. The coming on of his father to that meeting added a special personal interest to the occasion.

After the definite choice of a profession, there remained the difficult problem of ways and means. David Greene was naturally in full sympathy with his son's decision and one of his last letters urged the importance of taking up theological studies in the following autumn; but the son hesitated because of his strong desire for financial independence. Even in the summer of 1866, he considered the possibility of another year of teaching and was in fact offered a desirable position in the Chicago public schools on condition of agreeing to serve for four years. So long a postponement, however, seemed out of the question; and in September he began his theological course at Chicago.

The Chicago Theological Seminary was a Congregational institution founded in 1855. In 1866, its faculty numbered three professors and the entering class had only twelve students. In library facilities and in the prestige of its faculty, the Chicago Seminary was at a disadvantage as compared with Andover. One of Greene's classmates recalling conditions of that time wrote many years later: 'The Library was a joke, it was so meager.' Yet the institution was thought to be relatively satisfactory for the first-year studies. In any case it was fairly representative of Western Congregationalism, which in those days combined a somewhat conservative theology with a typically Western emphasis on the practical aspects of religion. The single building of the Seminary in-

cluded a dormitory for the students; but its location in the city gave it an atmosphere less academic than that of Andover. Of the twelve first-year students, nine were college graduates including representatives both of New England and of the Western institutions. One of Greene's classmates and a future colleague in the Japan mission was Jerome Davis, a youthful colonel in the Union army, who, returning to studies interrupted by the war, had just completed his course at Beloit College. Greene's roommate, on the other hand, was an Amherst graduate.

The faculty was composed of comparatively young men of New England training and the curriculum was on the traditional lines. The first-year studies included Greek, Hebrew, an introduction to systematic theology, and some rhetorical training, both in writing and speaking. The instructor chiefly responsible for the first-year men was Samuel C. Bartlett, a Dartmouth graduate who later went back to his old college as its president, and a man of vigorous personality. 'He is the most popular man of all the faculty,' so Greene wrote, 'and deservedly so.' Bartlett never attained distinction as a scholar in his special fields of Greek and Hebrew, and Greene had some doubts about his methods of instruction; but he seems to have held the respect of his students. Significant also was his vigorous support of foreign missions.

In January, Professor Haven began a series of 'Lectures Preliminary to Systematic Theology,' beginning with a discourse on 'The Relation of Reason to Revelation.' Greene's careful notes on these lectures have been preserved and illustrate the character of the instruction. Up to a certain point the function of reason was vigorously asserted: 'The right to use and to examine all brought before the mind is the inalienable right of man. Revelation does not take the place of reason.' It is by the use of the 'reason' that 'revelation' is established and interpreted. On the other hand, 'reason' has its limitations; for it 'cannot take the place of revelation.' It could not

be the judge of what revelation ought to teach; nor, 'set aside what revelation does teach on the ground of mystery.' This preliminary discussion was followed by the orthodox argument for the Scriptures as the embodiment of revelation—their authenticity, accuracy, and divine authority.

The rhetorical exercises conducted by Professor Fisk included debates on such topics as the following: 'Is the existence of sects in the church unfavorable to the progress of Christianity?' 'Is the call to the ministry, in the case of a Christian young man, different in its nature from a call to any other profession?' 'Should a Christian minister ever allow a Universalist the use of his pulpit?' Practical training of another kind was gained by city mission work including in Greene's case the conduct of a class for children. The Congregational church nearest to the Seminary and most closely associated with its work was the Union Park Church; but preachers of various denominations were heard elsewhere.

Of special interest is Greene's comment on Dwight L. Moody, the famous evangelist, then rising into prominence as president of the City Y.M.C.A. and the leading spirit in what was generally known as 'Mr. Moody's church,' though he was not formally its pastor: 'He is not an educated man, in fact he is very far from being such; but in his way he does an immense amount of good, and I presume he has been influential in the conversion of more souls than any other man in Chicago. . . . He was unwearied in his work among the cholera, patients. . . . If any one asks him how he is supported he says the Lord takes care of him. . . . Like many other uneducated men, he is disposed to undervalue theological training.'

Greene's growing interest in missions resulted in his being made the secretary of the student missionary society. Referring to a recent address by a returned missionary, he wrote to Mary Forbes: 'I longed more than ever to be a missionary myself some day and have about made up my mind to it.' She had some misgivings, however, and he agreed that she

had a right to be consulted. So the final decision was deferred.

One of Greene's classmates at the Seminary describes him as a good student, sticking closely to his work, and not a 'good mixer.' Yet, he was not altogether a recluse and did not believe that an occasional display of boyish spirits was inconsistent with 'ministerial dignity.' There were games of chess with fellow-students and tableaux in which young ladies of the neighborhood coöperated. Greene took such varied rôles as those of the executioner of Mary, Queen of Scots, of Dante with Beatrice, and of Theodore Tilton writing editorials for 'The Independent.' Meantime, Evanston, with its circle of relatives and friends, was near enough for frequent visits.

City mission work was not the only opportunity for contact with the varied elements of Chicago's population. In order to eke out the limited funds available for his Seminary expenses, Greene undertook to give English lessons to two Danish physicians. On February 13th, he writes of an evening spent with 'my two Doctors.' 'These Danes have increased my stock of knowledge of Danish affairs immensely already and I hope to get a good deal more out of them.' His earlier interest in medicine proved useful, for after one conversation he writes: 'They told me the other night after we had been talking about some surgical operations, that I was a good deal more of a surgeon than a Danish theologian would be.' At another time, he wrote that he had been reading 'The Spectator,' with his Danish pupils, as an exercise in pronunciation. Incidentally this experience set him to thinking about his own linguistic studies. He bought a conversation book, with the intention of learning as much Danish as he could, counting somewhat on its resemblance to German of which he already knew something. He reflected that this experience would have been much more useful to him if his pupils had been Germans, since that language was of prime importance for theology.

In the summer and autumn of 1866, Chicago, like the rest of the country, was stirred by President Johnson's struggle with the Republican congressional leaders. On September 6th, when Johnson spoke in Chicago, Greene wrote sarcastically of 'our esteemed and honored fellow-citizen A. Johnson,' He would have been glad, he said, to see Grant, and Farragut, who were in the President's party, but did not wish to participate in 'anything resembling an honoring of the President,' whose utterances he regarded as thoroughly discreditable. When, on the other hand, some of the leading 'Southern loyalists,' who had lately held a convention in Philadelphia in opposition to Johnson, visited Chicago, a month later, Greene went down to see them 'and enjoyed getting jammed in the crowd very much indeed.' He heard some of the speaking and saw the torchlight procession, 'An immense turn out, more people than I ever saw together before in my life. . . . I did my best to show my respect in that I was out both Monday and Tuesday evenings and during the daytime Tuesday.' At the November election he voted for General John A. Logan, the radical Republican candidate for congressman at large. During the winter, he also heard Wendell Phillips speak to an audience of about twenty-five hundred people and seems to have been much pleased, though his praise was not unqualified: 'I did not believe all he said, indeed he said some things about what Grant ought to do, which showed that he has not yet gained that regard for law and order which it is fitting that every man should have.'

Though he was not dissatisfied with the year at Chicago, Greene decided to continue his studies at Andover where the outstanding attractions were the library and the teaching of Edwards Park, the Professor of Systematic Theology. The personal associations, old and new, which drew him back to New England were hardly less compelling, especially the opportunity for more frequent visits to his future wife — who had suffered seriously from ill-health and from the loss of near

relatives. Since their engagement in 1865, the two young people had not met except for a few days in 1866 when his father's death took him East for a hurried visit. Naturally they both looked forward eagerly to their reunion in the coming summer.

For financial reasons, however, it seemed best for him to take a temporary instructorship at Lake Forest Academy, on the North Shore between Evanston and Waukegan. The Seminary closed early and residence for the last few weeks was not insisted upon, so that he was able to begin early in April a twelve-weeks' term at the Academy.

The school at Lake Forest was a Presbyterian institution with a classical course and Greene found that his teaching was useful in 'brushing up' his Latin and Greek. Though he seems to have had a good group of boys, including the son of his Seminary teacher, Professor Bartlett, he did not take kindly to boarding-school discipline. He disapproved of requiring the boys to attend evening prayer-meetings at the church, believing that compulsion was likely to do more harm than good 'by making them even more persistent in their resistance to the truth.' One of his Lake Forest pupils described nearly fifty years later his boyish impressions of the young teacher: 'We were young rascals and a great grief to him at times; and he always took the kindly human way with us. When we were too exasperating, another of the teachers used to stand us on our heads and wipe the floor with us and then set us up on our pins not at all damaged but coerced for the time. Your father always looked to the long results and reasoned and expostulated with us as if we were creatures of sense.' In 1909, this pupil of 1867, as a member of the Dartmouth faculty, presented his old teacher for an honorary degree from their common Alma Mater.

In spite of minor annoyances, Lake Forest was a pleasant place in which to spend the late spring and early summer. Though provided with a city charter, it had the population of

a small village, made up mainly of wealthy Chicagoans who were able to use effectively the natural advantages of the place, with its deep ravines opening on the lake shore. Here, as elsewhere, Greene found New England connections, but also some relaxation — not always unwelcome — of extreme Puritan standards. He was glad to see the boys walking out on Sundays. 'Public opinion,' he wrote, 'is not as opposed to walking on the Sabbath hereabouts as in Mass., so one does not feel that he must stay in the house to avoid offending some weak brother, but can do as he really thinks best for himself.' On the other hand, he still held to the Puritan tradition in such matters as card-playing and dancing.

It was with a sense of relief, however, and of happy anticipation that Greene turned his face toward New England. Much of the summer was spent at Westborough where Mary Forbes was then living; but he also met some of his classmates at the Dartmouth commencement, and visited Andover where he was to resume his theological studies in the autumn.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ENGLAND AGAIN — ANDOVER IN THE SIXTIES

When, in September, 1867, Crosby Greene took up his quarters on Andover Hill, he was in many ways renewing old associations. Here his father had studied and there were still men to whom the names of his father and his grandfather were familiar. Among his fellow-students were several whom he had known at college. In his own entry of Bartlett Hall, there were six Dartmouth men, of whom five were classmates and a few belonged to the smaller group of his more intimate friends. Near enough for visits, more or less frequent, were relatives and family friends in Boston, Roxbury, Cambridge, and in his father's home town of Stoneham. Farther away, but not too far for holiday or week-end journeys other homes were open. There was Windsor, with numerous cousins, and for a time, two of his sisters. Somewhat nearer was Worcester, where his older brother, J. Evarts Greene, began about this time a notable career as editor of the old 'Massachusetts Spy.' Last but not least, there was Westborough, the home of his father's last years, where his oldest sister lingered for a time to close up the family estate; it was with relatives here that Mary Forbes was then living. All these personal connections inevitably occupied much of Greene's time and thought, reenforcing the influences of inheritance and early training. On the whole, too, these influences were in harmony with those which prevailed in the Andover of the sixties.

When Greene entered the Seminary, it had already behind it more than half a century of history; and, judged by the standards of its founders, it had fully justified its existence. New theological institutions had been founded on the seaboard and in the West; but Andover still had an enviable re-

putation, and its graduates were at work all over the world, conspicuously so in missionary and educational service. Though the content of its courses had been developed, it still maintained the essential tenets of the 'New England theology'; there was the same emphasis also on scholarship and 'thoughtful piety.' [1]

The immediate neighborhood of the Seminary was rural, though the thriving manufacturing towns of Lawrence and Lowell were not far off. One of Greene's letters in 1868 tells of a visit made with two fellow-students to the Pacific Mills at Lawrence, said to be the largest cotton factory in the country. With that interest in mechanical processes which was characteristic of him all his life, he spent three hours and a half in the factory and 'saw all the different operations to which the cotton was subjected until it was packed ready for sale.' Though the Catalogue mentioned the manufacturing communities of this region as one of the advantages of the institution, the social implications of the industrial revolution seem to have been almost, if not wholly, ignored in the Seminary program.

Andover was justly proud of its library, already numbering about thirty thousand volumes, 'recently enriched by the purchase of the library of the late Dr. Niedner, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin.' The chief attraction of the Seminary, however, for the young theologians of that day was its faculty and, in particular, one outstanding figure, Edwards Amasa Park, 'Abbott Professor of Christian Theology.'

Professor Park, then perhaps at the height of his influence as theologian and preacher, was about sixty years old and had been more than thirty years a member of the Andover faculty. As a student in the Seminary, he had been a pupil of Leonard Wood, one of the two pioneer professors, and, though he departed at some points from the doctrine of his teacher,

[1] Catalogue of 1867–68.

he was thoroughly steeped in the 'consistent Calvinism' of the Seminary creeds. He was doubtless, in his day, the most distinguished exponent of the 'New England theology' as well as an expert in its history. His experience was by no means wholly provincial; for he had twice spent a year abroad, chiefly in Germany and Switzerland, and kept in touch with German scholarship in his field. It has been pointed out, however, by a not unfriendly critic, that 'all his wide knowledge of foreign writers and his unresting curiosity,' did not 'carry him in the construction of his system beyond the confines of the New England school.' Recognizing the Bible as the 'infallible test of religious and moral teaching,' his theology 'leaned heavily on proof texts' which were drawn, as one of his pupils has said, 'from Old and New Testaments alike with little regard to the context in which they were found.' He admired the Scottish philosophers, the 'commonsense' school of Reid and Stewart; but 'of the problems which physical science had begun to present to the theist we heard little.'

Whatever may be thought of the merits of Park's theology there can be no doubt of the profound impression which he made upon succeeding Seminary classes, an influence strengthened by the general organization of the curriculum which placed the students of the middle year almost wholly under his charge. The Catalogue announced that the curriculum was to concentrate attention on 'single departments in succession,' i.e., Biblical studies, the first year; systematic theology, the second; church history and sacred rhetoric, the third. So when Greene and his classmates took up their work in the autumn of 1867, they might and did continue their Greek and Hebrew in voluntary classes; but their formal required instruction — lectures, discussions, and reading — was under Park's direction.

Professor Edward Hincks, a Seminary student of this period and subsequently a member of the Andover faculty, in an admirably discriminating estimate of Park's character and in-

fluence, says of him: 'Professor Park was a man of great and impressive ability. He had unusual oratorical gifts, an imposing appearance, effective voice, the oratorical temperament, power of statement, dialectic force, wit, sarcasm; and he knew how to use these gifts to full advantage. In his prime he was regarded, I suppose, as one of the powerful preachers in New England of the elaborate, doctrinal sermon.' Park's 'system' of theology was never published in comprehensive form; but 'it did not lack elaboration. To deliver it from year to year to successive middle classes was its author's sole task as a teacher. . . . Besides its doctrinal statement and argument it was enlivened by many humorous anecdotes. . . . The teaching . . . was lucid and skilfully systematized, and its polemic was very effective. . . . The teacher had a genial way of presenting doctrine; there was no austere dogmatism. Pupils were allowed to leave in the professor's desk at the close of the lecture written questions which were answered the next day.'

Another student of the sixties notes the persistence of a controversial presentation growing out of the theological conflicts of an earlier day; but he emphasizes also Park's insistence on the 'freedom of the will,' as a tenet reconcilable with the Calvinistic system. 'This tenet,' he writes, 'was reasoned by Professor Park with great ingenuity, and with no little sarcasm at the expense of opponents, and often under a moving consciousness of the practical effect of the tenet upon human action and destiny.'

What some of the more mature and active-minded men of the time seem to have regretted most was the failure of this instruction to get beyond 'New England theology,' 'in order to give students some fresh, more direct and penetrating approach to the heart of Christianity.' As Professor Hincks has pointed out, the students of that day, brought up in the New England tradition, needed an emancipation from 'religious provincialism' which Park did not give them. 'The language of New England Congregationalism was the mother-tongue of

most of them. The experiences of its most devout men and women were such as they had or wished to have, the labors of its faithful servants had shaped their thought of Christian service; its defects they could not easily realize . . . they could only get a just conception of Christianity by being led to a position from which they could see New England Congregationalism in its historical relations and significance.' Suggestive also is the statement made many years later by Dr. Morton Dexter of the class of 1870: 'He [Park] did not search through the whole field of human belief in order to determine what is true, so much as he set himself to analyze, illumine, defend and advocate that system of Christian belief in which he had been trained.' It is not probable, however, that many students of that period appreciated these deficiencies; in general they seem to have responded sympathetically to Park's leadership.

Such then, in its strength and in its limitations, was Park's teaching. It may be noted, however, as evidence of a distinction that compelled respect, even from those who had little sympathy with his opinions, that Harvard University twice gave him an honorary degree; S.T.D., in 1844, and LL.D. in 1886 (the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College). Greene's reaction to Park's teaching does not seem to have differed materially from that of the average student. To him, as to most of his fellow-students, Park's reputation as a theologian had long been familiar. His first contact with Park in the classroom was, however, disappointing. 'We had,' he wrote in September, 1867, 'our first lecture from Prof. Park this afternoon and shall have another to-morrow at eleven. I was a little disappointed in Prof. Park, though I think him a very interesting lecturer, for I had heard so much about him that I had expected a great deal, and perhaps more than will be realized. Yet my opinion may change after hearing him a few more times, and my highest expectations be fully realized. In his lecture of one hour he told us half a dozen anec-

dotes or more and made the students roar twice.' A few days later, he makes another reference to Park: 'We have just commenced the positive proof of the existence of God and we shall probably have several more [lectures] before we finish that subject. The Prof. is getting waked up a little now and I like him very much. He makes his lectures very interesting by numerous and exceedingly original illustrations, and generally gives us a little opportunity to rest . . . by telling a story or making some remark which relieves the mind and which we do not have to write down. It is very much easier to take notes of his lectures than of Prof. Haven and we can and do write them immediately in our lecture-books.'

Greene's notes on Park's lectures of 1867–68, taken down in an abbreviated long-hand, fill about six hundred closely written pages in two large notebooks. At intervals, the manuscript is interspersed with proof texts or printed clippings carefully pasted in. Even this did not satisfy the young student. 'It would be fine,' he wrote, 'if we could take down Prof. Park's lectures word for word illustrations and all. If it could be done a set of his lectures would [be] about as interesting a book as one could get.' References were made to books for collateral reading, but it was considered important to master the content of the lectures. Each day one member of the class was called on to give orally an abstract of the previous day's lecture and the notes were industriously reviewed. This feature of the system provoked some criticism. 'This memorizing lectures,' Greene wrote, 'is something extremely distasteful to me, and I shall feel rejoiced when it is over with.'

Contact with the lecturer was not confined to the classroom. Greene was diffident about cultivating 'the acquaintance of great men'; but he soon overcame this shyness sufficiently to call on Park, and a little later took tea with him, finding him 'a very genial man indeed' who 'understands how to make an evening pass away pleasantly.'

Though he had taken formal courses in New Testament

Greek and Hebrew at Chicago, Greene felt the need of more instruction in these subjects and attended some voluntary exercises provided by Professors Mead and Thayer. The former was distinctly of the old school and his teaching of the Old Testament 'hardly attempted to do more than to give an elementary knowledge of Hebrew and help those thus taught to read selected passages. "Higher criticism" was not attempted; nor indeed honored as an ideal.' Conservative in a somewhat different way was Professor Phelps, on whom the students depended largely for their training in writing and speaking; but President Tucker, one of his pupils, has emphasized his effective stand for 'clear and accurate thinking' and 'good English.'

A more modern kind of scholarship was represented by two of the younger men, Joseph Henry Thayer in New Testament Exegesis and Egbert C. Smyth in Church History. Professor Hincks emphasizes Thayer's effort to impress on his students 'the duty of finding out by untrammeled and penetrating examination just what the New Testament writings contained. His work in its opposition to both a dogmatizing and a slovenly exegesis must have had a high value especially for those who as missionaries were to translate the New Testament into foreign tongues.' Thayer, whose dissent from the Andover creeds subsequently carried him from Andover to Harvard, was a first-rate authority on New Testament Greek; but, to quote Professor Hincks again, New Testament criticism in the modern sense 'had not then risen above the American horizon.'

With Professor Smyth, Greene was brought into much closer contact, especially during the final year of his course, when church history was one of the two principal subjects. Smyth was a man of winning personality and by no means a radical; but he is remembered as one of those who helped students toward 'a more comprehensive view of Christianity' than could be found in 'consistent Calvinism.' It was Smyth

who, at Greene's request, supported his application for appointment to the foreign service and later preached his ordination sermon. These relations of mutual regard continued; and when, several years later, Smyth was charged with heretical teaching, he had the hearty sympathy and support of his old pupil.

Besides the instruction given by the permanent faculty, there were special lecturers. Rufus Anderson, formerly associated with David Greene as one of the secretaries of the American Board, delivered the Hyde lectures on Foreign Missions and Leonard Bacon, one of the most influential clergymen of that day, those on Congregationalism. The Catalogue also announced lectures on 'Revivals' and on the 'Relation of Christianity to Popular Infidelity!'

The proximity of Boston offered other educational opportunities. Greene writes of hearing such popular lecturers as John B. Gough and Frederick Douglass. At one of Gough's lectures, 'We laughed enough to give us all dyspepsia, if one siege of laughing is competent for that.' Douglass disappointed him, 'for he spoke very heavily, without any excitement except toward the last when he came to speak of the Freedmen, when he warmed up.' When Charles Dickens came to Boston, during the winter of 1867–68, Greene, with some of his fellow-students, went in town for tickets and stood in line from midnight until morning. In December, 1868, he notes quite casually, 'Emerson lectures to-night and I shall go, I think.' Though by no means a connoisseur of music he was interested in the programmes of the Handel and Haydn Society and the Mendelssohn Quartet Club, enjoying the latter 'as much as an uncultivated individual like myself could be expected to do.' His interest in music was stimulated by the enthusiasm of Mary Forbes, who was moved by oratorio music to feel that the prospect of 'singing forever in heaven' was not so unpleasant as it seemed to some people.'

Social intercourse within the Seminary circle offered some

intellectual stimulus. At Professor Phelps's house, for instance, Greene met his daughter, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, then beginning to achieve a certain literary reputation. Greene thought her a distinctly interesting young woman 'with whom it is very easy to talk, and who can talk on a great variety of subjects.' She was apparently less interesting to a classmate who was calling with him, for the latter was 'a little provoked that I stayed so long'; 'but,' Greene remarks, 'as the conversation did not lag at all I thought it would be rather a pity to run away.' The Seminary students also met the young women of the community in a literary club which discussed such varied topics as Planchette, Michael Angelo, and Edmund Spenser. At the Michael Angelo meeting, 'George Harris [later president of Amherst College] performed his part very well.' One evening they read Sheridan's 'Rivals,' with Greene taking the part of Fag. Some of the young women were ready to debate weighty subjects. Greene records serious discussions with one of them on Biblical inspiration, and on woman's suffrage, 'in which she is a firm believer.'

Of prime importance for the intellectual life of the students was their intercourse with each other. Of forty-six classmates, all but four were college graduates. Nearly half came from two New England colleges, Amherst and Dartmouth; Yale came next with seven graduates, and Harvard sent only two. Only four came from colleges outside of New England and three of these Western institutions represented the New England tradition in Ohio — Marietta, Western Reserve, and Oberlin. The home addresses tell a similar story of New England antecedents. In short, the students came from homes and from colleges, which with few exceptions were imbued with the Puritan tradition. Several, however, like Greene himself, had seen something of life outside of New England. A number of them had been broadened by service during the Civil War, in the army or the navy; one came from a missionary home in India.

The ministry of that day attracted a much larger portion of the ranking scholars in the New England colleges than it now does. In this respect, the class of 1869 stood high; it has been said by one of its members that at least six were valedictorians of their respective colleges. Professor Hincks wrote of this group many years later: 'Certainly we of 1870 regarded the class of 1869 as one of unusual strength.' Several of its members attained considerable academic distinction in later years. One of Greene's closest friends at Dartmouth and in the Seminary was recalled to his old college, first as tutor and then as Professor of Greek. Two classmates became professors in the Seminary and one of them subsequently became president of Amherst College. Perhaps the member of this class who gained most distinction as a scholar was George T. Ladd, for many years Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Yale. Other classmates became pastors of important metropolitan churches in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and elsewhere.

All in all, Greene seems to have found his fellow-students highly congenial. Opportunities for exchange of ideas were of course frequent, both in and out of the classroom. Lectures were supplemented by written and oral exercises under professorial supervision, as for instance, a debate on the formidable question, 'Is man's natural ability commensurable with his moral obligation?' Greene took the affirmative 'which is of course the strong side.' On another occasion, he read an essay in which he argued that 'physical death is a result of Adam's sin,' using Scriptural arguments but trying to show that 'this teaching is not inconsistent with natural science.'

There were also numerous clubs. The Theological Club, which met weekly, considered one evening, 'Whether a man deserves reward for his good acts,' the upshot of the discussion being that while the participants were still open to conviction, they were 'rather inclined to believe the affirmative.'

One of the oldest Andover organizations was the 'Society of Inquiry' of which Greene was an active member. Its special interest was missions and its programmes included essays by its members and letters from alumni in the mission field. A few men, of whom Greene was one, entered into the more intimate associations of the 'Missionary Band,' founded by the pioneer Andover missionaries, Mills and Judson. Another old organization in which he seems to have been less interested was the Porter Rhetorical Society, described in the Catalogue as holding a weekly 'public meeting which is attended by the citizens of the place.'

With all these clubs and societies, with frequent devotional meetings, and some Sunday school work in a neighboring church, the time of a Seminary student would seem to have been fully occupied. More important, perhaps, than any of these associations was the informal intercourse among classmates. There were long walks in the country, discussions in private rooms, mutual criticisms of sermons and essays, and first and last a good deal of reading together. One evening, for instance, Greene reports that 'Richardson [a Dartmouth classmate] and I read Hamilton together according to agreement until ten.' A few weeks later, he mentions an agreement with a student to read 'Hume's philosophical writings' with him three times a week.

The classmate with whom he seems to have had the most stimulating companionship was George T. Ladd, who had come to the Seminary from Western Reserve University, Ohio. They enjoyed together the famous sunset walks on Andover Hill, and met often for reading and discussion. One evening Greene was 'reading with Ladd on inspiration.' A little later he wrote: 'Ladd [then having some trouble with his eyes], to whom I have read considerable is to pay me back by giving me each evening for a while a digest of his German reading on the subject of sin.' When his friend was forced by ill-health to leave the Seminary for a time, Greene hoped for

his early return; 'for I feel that my intercourse with him has done me a great deal of good.' Fortunately this comradeship was not long interrupted and in May, 1868, Greene records another engagement to work together: 'He is to help me about German and I am to read to him some book or books which we both wish to read.' Among the books read together were Hodge on the 'Atonement,' in English, and Ewald's 'History of the People of Israel,' in German. Their common interests were not exclusively bookish. They inspected cotton mills together and planned for a sea adventure with a mackerel fleet in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, though Greene finally decided that he could not go.

One experience which the two friends had together was in the examinations required of candidates for preaching licenses. These examinations began at nine in the morning, continued till dinner at one, and were resumed from two till about half-past three. During the first hour and a half, the candidates, eighteen in all, were called on to relate their religious experiences. Then followed questions on natural theology, church history, church polity, and 'church ordinances.' 'We took turns in answering questions, but it was understood that if any of us disagreed with the one who happened to be speaking, we were to make it known.' The candidates seem to have found their examiners friendly and the experience as a whole 'very pleasant,' or 'as much so as it well could be.' Greene observed that he did 'not agree with most of the N.E. [New England] ministers with regard to the question of the Will,' but the examiners were inclined to minimize differences. Though 'Ladd freed his mind on that subject,' the examiners were 'bound to make out that we agreed essentially with them.' Apparently doctrinal standards were becoming less rigid, though Greene anticipated some further criticism in the later examination for ordination.

A curious survival of an older state of mind was the official attitude of the Seminary toward the observance of Christ-

mas. On Christmas Eve, 1867, Greene wrote that, in contrast with the practice at Chicago, the Andover faculty did not 'recognize Christmas at all,' but went on with the regular exercises 'as if it were no more than any other day.' He added, however, that a number of students were leaving and that the regular lecture was likely to be thinly attended. While Christmas was ignored, the last Friday of the year was still regularly observed with special services as 'The Seminary Fast.' Just how much actual fasting was done does not appear from this correspondence.

Student dissatisfaction with the mechanical use of lecture notes has already been mentioned. 'It seems to me,' Greene wrote, 'that a more independent course would be better, that is allowing more independence on the part of the students.' He complained also of Park's rigidity in the matter of leaves of absence, and of the 'multiplicity of rules' in general, which seemed to put mature men in the position of college undergraduates. In this respect, Andover seemed to him less liberal than Chicago.

On the whole, however, Greene's correspondence indicates that he was not seriously disturbed by the undesirable features of the Andover system. He got more or less archaic theology and exegesis from his teachers; but he could, and did, read books which introduced him to other points of view. His reading of Hume has been mentioned. He was not only reading German commentators and planning to buy sets of them, but also learning something about the work of Unitarian scholars. Speaking of a translation of the Prophets made by Professor Noyes of Cambridge, he observed that the book was 'strongly tainted with his Unitarian views,' but that his rendering was 'probably correct in the main, and very likely an improvement on King James'.' President Tucker in his reminiscences of Andover in the sixties mentions the liberalizing influence of the English scholar, F. W. Robertson; Greene himself mentions reading two of Robertson's sermons, which he 'liked very much.'

Politics apparently did not occupy much of a place in his thoughts. The years from 1867 to 1869 were marked by intense partisan feeling, but the subject is rarely mentioned in his letters, though Mary Forbes wrote him of political demonstrations in New Jersey, where she happened to be visiting during the presidential campaign of 1868. Election day of that year passed without a single reference to the subject in his letters. This is the more striking because Greene's uncle, William M. Evarts, had been one of Johnson's counsel in the impeachment proceedings and subsequently for a few months his attorney-general. The day after the impeachment proceedings closed, however, Greene wrote a letter which indicates that the subject was not altogether out of his mind: 'Prof. Park spoke to me the other day about Uncle William's speech which he liked very much.' The eve of Grant's inauguration brought this comment: 'We shall soon know about Uncle William's prospects. It seems very strange that nothing has leaked out with reference to Grant's affairs. We are to have a prayer-meeting in the chapel to-morrow noon on account of the inauguration.'

The only elections definitely mentioned in Greene's own letters for the years 1867 and 1868 were those held in Massachusetts in November, 1867. He was interested in learning 'how the vote stood in Westborough between the Prohibitionists and the license men.' 'I suppose,' he went on to say with reference to the general situation, 'Uncle Fay [Miss Forbes's uncle] talks about licensing crime and thinks the country is going to ruin, and I am almost tempted to think so myself sometimes, but I trust things will come out right by and by.'

Now and then Greene had misgivings about his calling to the ministry in general and the missionary service in particular. A letter of May 13, 1868, was written while in this questioning mood: 'When in discussing theological questions one finds difficulty on every hand, the question arises,

is anything true and fixed. . . . The question of inspiration troubles me still and I almost despair of getting out of the fog and of seeing clearly.' Perhaps, he thought, it was not God's will that he ever should; 'but yet I think I have a right to hope that some day I may be able to separate the knowable from the unknowable more satisfactorily and learn to be contented with knowing what I may.' It seemed to him that his intellectual difficulties were closely related to his spiritual condition. When conscious of the divine presence, 'it does not seem to be any hardship to go abroad, but when my heart becomes cold and I am far away from God I can hardly bear the thought of being a minister at home and I long to give up my profession.' Then he goes on in the frankness of intimate correspondence: 'For quite a while I have been hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt . . . the luxury which it has seemed to me I might have in another profession. When I am in such a state of mind, to go abroad, and to be obliged to confine my efforts almost entirely to the humblest classes of men, as we must expect to as missionaries, is very galling to my pride and I almost wish that I had never heard of such a thing as foreign missions.'

Visits with friends and relatives newly established in comfortable homes naturally suggested comparisons with the hardships of the missionary career, but thoughts of this kind did not trouble him long. 'Distance,' he remarked, was 'depriving those flesh-pots of their value.' A few months later he wrote to Mary Forbes quite decisively, that he could hardly retreat unless there were difficulties which stood in the way of her going abroad: 'As I look at it I am wholly committed to that course and have not the remotest idea of turning back. . . . There is nothing like taking things as a matter of course for removing objections, especially when you know they ought to have no weight.'

The sense of a definite vocation was strengthened when, in December, 1868, he was licensed to preach. Much of his time

was now given to the writing of sermons for actual delivery. He was a severe critic of his own work and felt at times a certain shrinking from the pulpit, especially in the presence of old associations like those of Windsor and Westborough. Though often intense in his convictions, he never took naturally to an emotional type of preaching. 'I propose,' he wrote near the close of his Seminary course, 'to find out my failings if that is practicable, and then try as hard as may be to correct them. I shall begin to think that I have no fervor of feeling . . . Richardson thinks that my great fault and I presume it is. I need some great calamity to stir me up and make me realize what it is to be a Christian and a minister.' He persisted, however, and before he left Andover preached to a number of congregations, chiefly in the smaller towns of Massachusetts. Encouraged by some expressions of approval, he gradually gained confidence. The modest compensation offered to young ministers was also not unwelcome; for the Seminary course had been financed with difficulty and Greene was anxious to free himself from dependence on the grants of the Education Society.

Plans for missionary service were taking definite form. In his application for appointment by the American Board, Greene wrote that he had first 'thought seriously of the claims of foreign missionary service' while a student at Chicago, and after 'careful consideration' decided to become a missionary 'should circumstances admit of such a course. That decision I have kept in mind ever since that time, and though I expect to encounter trials and hardships, yet I look forward to a life of happiness in this branch of my Master's service.' These convictions were deepened by the hearing of missionary addresses at Andover and by his attendance at the Board meeting in October, 1868. Of interest also is the first letter from him on file at the Board office. This communication, dated January 1, 1868, explained that he had been called on to give 'the intelligence from the foreign field' at a missionary meet-

ing and wished to use for this purpose a letter from Dr. Schauffler of Turkey.

One of the 'circumstances' which Greene had to consider was the health of his future wife, which caused them both much anxiety. Finally, however, her medical adviser assured her that she might safely enter the proposed mission field. Perhaps this professional advice took into account the psychological element. Deprived for several years of a normal family life, and troubled by the necessary absence of the one person on whose affection and advice she fully relied, she might well look forward to the new home, even in strange surroundings, with reasonable hopes of health and happiness. So, in March, 1869, both the young people sent in their formal applications, and, on April 6th, the Prudential Committee of the Board, 'with entire cordiality' appointed Greene as missionary and Miss Forbes as 'assistant missionary,' 'in the expectation that she will accompany you as Mrs. Greene.'

Of interest in connection with Greene's application is the doctrinal statement which he presented to the secretaries of the Board. There was, he thought, nothing in his theological belief 'so much at variance with the creeds of the churches sustaining the American Board, as to prevent my coöperating cordially with them in all their efforts to advance the cause of Christ.' He then gave the following summary of what he conceived to be 'the leading doctrines of the Bible': 'The existence of one infinite and eternal God in three distinctions, Father, Son, and Spirit — that the Son was incarnate in Jesus — that all mankind have, by their sins, lost communion with God and are liable to punishment under His holy law — that the life and death of Christ, the God-man, constituted an atonement for the sins of all men, and that on the ground of this atonement, all who repent and believe in Jesus Christ, will receive remission of sins and be brought into fellowship with God — that this fellowship will be eternally enjoyed by those who are made partakers of it, while those who refuse to

believe and reject the divine mercy, will be forever cast out from the presence of the Most High.'

Considered in its chronological setting and in comparison with the famous Andover Creed, the striking characteristics of this statement are its simplicity; its avoidance of a mechanical view of the atonement; the absence of anything which can be called peculiarly Calvinistic; and, perhaps most striking of all, the absence of any dogmatic pronouncement as to the fate of the heathen who had never heard the Christian gospel. Evidently the tests of orthodoxy were less stringent than those of half a century before. There was, however, an expression in Greene's introductory statement which awoke misgivings in the mind of at least one of the officials of the Board.

Before the application was laid before the Prudential Committee, Secretary Treat asked for explanation of the phrase describing his general attitude as not 'so much at variance' with the creeds of the churches supporting the Board as to prevent his cordial coöperation. Would Mr. Greene be more specific in order to meet possible objections from the Prudential Committee? In particular was not his theology, 'in all essential matters, within the range of the Seminaries which furnish our missionaries? Princeton men we accept, on the one hand; and those who agree with Prof. [illegible] and Park on the other, we accept.' Treat added: 'If you knew the history of certain missions, you would not wonder that we are a little cautious.'

In a letter to Miss Forbes, Greene referred to Treat's query, but added that it was likely to be cleared up. In a supplementary statement, Greene maintained that his opinions were substantially in accord with those of Professor Park. He felt bound, however, to add: 'Perhaps Prof. Park would say that I tend toward Arminianism, as regards the freedom of the will and other doctrines necessarily depending upon [that].' Similarly, with respect to the atonement, he con-

ceded that he might perhaps 'lay a little more stress upon the moral influence of the atonement than most New England theologians; he held, however, that the sacrifice of Christ was 'in the proper sense of the term vicarious.' This reply seems to have satisfied the Committee.

CHAPTER V

FROM NEW ENGLAND TO JAPAN, 1869–1870

The field to which Greene was at first assigned was North China; but he explained in a statement to the Board that he was 'ready to enter heartily' on any work which might be given him. Meantime, the officers of the Board were thinking of a possible mission to Japan. In 1828, when that country was closed to all Western intercourse, except that of the Dutch traders at Nagasaki, a missionary meeting in Brookline, Massachusetts, sent in contributions for a Japanese mission. A quarter of a century later the treaties of Perry and Townsend Harris opened a new door for missionary enterprise and soon afterwards the question of entering Japan was seriously considered by the Prudential Committee, though no definite action was taken until the following decade.

It seemed to the leaders of the Board that the part taken by the United States in the opening of Japan imposed peculiar obligations upon American Christians. Though there was 'much to admire' in the manners of the Japanese and 'much to respect in their social arrangements,' there seemed to be nothing in their religions which 'insures morality in this life or holiness in the life to come.' Furthermore, the European societies were leaving this remote field to the Americans, who were, after all, comparatively near neighbors of the Japanese. Especially urgent, Treat argued, was the call to Protestants. The Roman Catholic missions, excluded from Japan by the persecutions of the seventeenth century, were being reopened; but from the orthodox New England point of view, the revival of that form of Christianity was not desirable. Indeed, the language of Treat's report on this subject is a painful reminder of the extent to which the old Puritan

feeling toward the Catholic Church survived in the New England of 1869. The 'Man of Sin,' 'with exultant thoughts' of former triumphs, 'with an argument from the blood of thousands of martyrs which he knows so well how to employ, his purpose unchanged, his strategy revised and improved, is once more in the field!' It is a relief to be able to add that one of the earliest documents signed by a representative of this Board in Japan was a protest against the persecution of Roman Catholic converts.

Before the Boston office was ready to act, it was anticipated by three missionary organizations in New York, representing respectively the Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, and Protestant Episcopal churches. Pioneer missionaries of these three bodies began work in Japan in 1859; but the edicts against Christianity continued in force for more than a decade, anti-foreign feeling was still intense, and the country was distracted by internal conflicts. All these conditions contributed to prevent any appreciable progress in direct missionary effort.

The next ten years brought important changes, all favorable to the missionary enterprise. A successful revolution ended the old dualism between the nominal rule of the Emperor at Kyoto, and the actual, though weak, government of the Shogun at Tokyo, thus preparing the way for an effectively centralized government. The anti-Christian edicts were not yet repealed; but the new government was prepared to carry through whole-heartedly the new policy of foreign intercourse. Scarcely less important was the improvement in modes of travel. In 1859, the American missionaries of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed boards reached Japan only after an ocean journey of several months from the Atlantic seaboard around the Cape of Good Hope. There was then no transcontinental railroad across the United States and no regular steamship service from San Francisco to Yokohama. By 1869, however, the journey from Boston to Yokohama

had become infinitely easier. A few weeks after Greene received his appointment to the missionary service, the last section of track connecting the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines was built and railroad communication between Boston and San Francisco was complete. The whole journey to Yokohama by railroad and Pacific steamboat could now be made in about a month.

Other conditions also seemed favorable for the undertaking of a new mission. The death of a missionary in Greece led to the giving up of that field, while the very successful Hawaiian mission was 'moving forward to its completion.' So, it was proposed to fill the 'latest vacancy by substituting for the Kingdom of Greece the Empire of Japan.' It was believed also that Japanese use of the Chinese characters would enable missionaries in the Island Empire to build in some measure on the work of their predecessors in China. Greene himself, in some reminiscences published forty years later, emphasized the personal influence of one member of the China mission, the Reverend Henry Blodgett, 'to whom one might almost say the Mission owed its origin; for it is very doubtful whether the American Board would at that time have started a mission in Japan, had it not been for the pressure he brought to bear upon the Prudential Committee during his furlough in 1869.' It may be added that one of the members of that committee was Mr. Alpheus Hardy, an influential Boston merchant, who had become deeply interested in a young Japanese refugee then being trained, with Hardy's help, for missionary service in his native country. This young man was Joseph Neesima, soon to become the outstanding Japanese associate of the American Mission Board. By the summer of 1869, Greene's transfer from North China to Japan had been practically agreed upon, with his consent; but it was thought best to have this decision ratified at a full meeting of the Board, in the autumn. In October, 1869, the recommendation of the committee was formally approved.

For Greene, this was an eventful summer. On the twenty-eighth of July, after the completion of his Seminary course, he was formally ordained to the ministry in his home town of Westborough. The ordination council, composed of pastors and lay delegates from Congregational churches of eastern and central Massachusetts, with a few specially invited members, examined the candidate as to his Christian experience, his motives in entering the Christian ministry, his theological opinions, and his ideas of church government; the theological discussion was based in part on his own prepared statement. The examination having been found satisfactory, the council proceeded to the formal ordination service. Several of the participants were old personal and family friends, including his father's colleague in the secretaryship of the American Board, the pastor of the family church, and Professor Smyth of the Seminary. The exercises closed with a benediction pronounced by the candidate. The next day, after nearly five years of waiting, Daniel Crosby Greene and Mary Jane Forbes were married in the same familiar surroundings of Westborough.

Time passed rapidly with preparations for the journey and for their new home, and with farewell visits to friends whom they could not expect to see again for many years. Finally, in the early autumn, they moved westward. During the first week of October, they were in Pittsburgh at the annual meeting of the American Board, where they received their final commissions. The report of Secretary Treat recommending, on behalf of the Prudential Committee, the establishment of the Japan mission made the further statement that, if the Board approved, 'a young brother in whom they have entire confidence, with us here to-day, is ready to proceed by the next steamer from San Francisco and inaugurate the enterprise.' There were references also to the services of his father, David Greene, and his grandfather, Jeremiah Evarts. The official record adds: 'Mr. Greene, under appointment as the

first missionary of the Board to Japan, was introduced and addressed the assembly; prayer was then offered . . . and the congregation sang the hymn, "The harvest dawn is near."'

Then the westward journey was resumed, with short interruptions at Auburn, New York, in Chicago and Evanston, at St. Louis and Kansas City, chiefly for final visits with relatives. At Evanston, Greene received from his fellow-members of the Congregational Church a substantial reminder of their good will. From Omaha, they took the train over the Union Pacific–Central Pacific line which had been opened for through service to San Francisco only a few months before.

For the young missionaries, and especially for the bride who had never before been farther west than central New York, the journey was a memorable event. The crossing of the great plains and the Continental Divide, with Indian wigwams still a familiar sight along the road, was an experience not easily realized by the sophisticated tourist of the twentieth century. Behind that 'Great Divide' they were leaving all the friendly scenes and associations of childhood and youth. It was indeed a great adventure.

By November 2d Greene was able to report to Secretary Clark at Boston that he and his wife were safely in San Francisco, where the Board already had a special business agent. Two days later, they sailed on the Pacific Mail steamer, America; and on November 30, 1869, after a voyage of twenty-five actual days, they arrived at Yokohama, the chief port for Western commerce under the American and European treaties of 1858.

Situated near the entrance to Yedo Bay, Yokohama, in sunny weather, offers the incoming traveler an impressive introduction to Japan, with snow-capped Fuji towering in the background. The process of landing from an ocean steamer in those days, though far less comfortable than at present, had a certain picturesque interest now lacking. Ad-

equate docks were not built until many years later and passengers were rowed to land in small Japanese boats known as *sampans*, manned by oarsmen whose ideas of the necessary minimum in clothing were hardly in accord with Western conventions.

In 1869, Yokohama had been opened to foreign intercourse for about ten years and already had a substantial colony of European and American residents, including a few missionaries. Within a narrow strip of land extending back of the water-front, or *bund*, was the 'settlement' set apart by the Japanese authorities, in which the European residents did their business. Here were commercial establishments of various kinds, *godowns*, or warehouses, the consular offices of various nationalities, and some residences. Overlooking the city was the 'Bluff,' which became the chief residential quarter for foreigners. The 'settlement' was flanked by a small creek and an estuary of the bay, which, with the canal between them, formed a small island. About this exotic foreign community, an insignificant Japanese village had rapidly expanded into a considerable city, presenting in its awkward mingling of Eastern and Western ways that bizarre aspect so characteristic of the 'treaty-ports' of the Far East.

To this new scene, so radically different from anything in their previous experience, the Greenes were hospitably welcomed by a young American of the Presbyterian Mission, in whose home they spent their first days in Japan and began to take their bearings. Under his instructions from the Board, Greene had some discretion as to his location, with the understanding that he was to consult the missionaries on the ground, who were chiefly in Yokohama and at the capital, then generally called Yedo, but since better known as Tokyo. It was assumed that the latter would be his provisional headquarters. So after a short stay in Yokohama, he went on to Yedo, some twenty miles distant at the head of the bay.

There were then no railways anywhere in Japan and that comparatively recent invention, the *jinriksha*, or *kuruma*, had not yet come into general use. The conveyance used in this case was the *basha*, a rough horse-cart. It was either on this first journey to Yedo, or about that time, that the young missionaries were disturbed to find as a fellow-passenger one of the two-sworded *samurai*, whose activities had been the source of so much anxiety to foreigners. Their course for the greater part of the way was the Tokaido, the great coast road connecting Tokyo with the old capital of Kyoto, and famous under the old régime for the *daimyo* trains, or feudal retinues, which passed that way. About seven years earlier, this road had been the scene of a famous international incident, the so-called 'Richardson affair,' in which an English tourist was killed, apparently because of his neglect of the proprieties required on meeting one of these feudal processions. Presently the road crossed a considerable stream, the Rokugogawa, and in the absence of a bridge at that point, there was an anxious period of waiting for the ferry.

In spite of misgivings, the journey was accomplished without serious mishap; indeed Greene was able to write of it at the time as 'very pleasant.' At the present time, the railroad follows the same general course through an urban area transformed by the development of modern manufactures. In 1869 the scenes along the route were quite different, though even then it was 'like passing through the narrow street of a city nearly all the way.' It was possible, however, now and then to 'look through upon the rice fields from which the crops had just been gathered.' The houses along the road were largely shops, open at the front for the display of goods, with the living rooms of the family in the rear and sometimes a second story. There were green grocers, tea merchants, dealers in dry fish and numerous other articles, including liberal stocks of the characteristic Japanese footgear, straw sandals, and *geta* or clogs. These were typical street scenes

A BRIDGE IN OLD YEDO, NIHON-BASHI
From a Japanese color-print (Hiroshige)

with which the newcomers were to become thoroughly familiar in the months and years to come.

At Yedo, they found comfortable temporary quarters in a hotel, owned and managed by a Japanese, but, notwithstanding the small European clientèle, conducted in foreign style, with an English clerk who transacted business with foreign patrons. A few days' observation of conditions and friendly consultations with members of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed missions convinced Greene, for the time being, that he should settle in Tokyo. It was here, therefore, that he and his wife spent the greater part of their first four months in Japan, renting a Japanese house a little south of the future foreign settlement in Tsukiji, the latter district not having yet been made available for foreign residents. After a stay of about two weeks, Greene was able to write: 'We are getting accustomed to our life here, and I can go about with as little concern as in Chicago.' This was in the daytime; care had to be taken 'never to be far from the hotel at dusk,' when drunken bravos were likely to be abroad.

The situation in which the newcomers found themselves can hardly be understood without a brief survey of the political development then going on. The treaties of 1858 had given the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments the privilege of residence at Yedo, which until 1868 was the seat of government, not of the Emperor, but of his viceregent, the Shogun. The former, in the ancient capital of Kyoto, was the *de jure* sovereign, credited with descent from the gods, and regarded with the highest veneration; but the actual government of the Empire, so far as any central authority then existed, was vested in the Shogun, whose office was hereditary in the Tokugawa dynasty, founded by the famous Iyeyasu at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The actual power exercised by any particular shogun varied according to the strength or weakness of his own personality and the character of his chief ministers. For about two

hundred and fifty years before the coming of Perry, this dual system proved fairly efficient in preserving internal order and maintaining the policy of isolation, adopted by Iyeyasu and his immediate successors.

The overthrow of the Shogunate during the next fifteen years was only in part the result of foreign intervention. Among the *daimyo* or feudal magnates, many of whom ruled over their hereditary domains with little interference from the central government, and also among their retainers, the two-sworded *samurai*, the spirit of dissatisfaction was steadily growing. This dissatisfaction was partly due to jealousy of the Tokugawa clan, on the part of such leading *daimyo* as those of Satsuma, in the island of Kiushiu, and Choshu at the western end of the main island. There was also, however, a genuine desire to revive the ancient dignity of the imperial house. Meantime, through the Dutch establishment at Nagasaki, Western ideas were making their way in certain circles, particularly among the so-called 'Dutch scholars.' These men had for some time been urging the need for a more efficient form of government, if Japan was to hold its own in the modern world.

It was under such circumstances that the series of treaties with the Western powers, beginning with that negotiated by Perry in 1854, forced the Japanese people to reconsider the whole problem of political organization in the light of their new international status. At first the reopening of foreign intercourse was extremely unpopular, resulting in numerous acts of violence against foreigners and against Japanese officials charged with yielding unnecessarily to foreign pressure. Much of this resentment was directed against the Shogun's Government which had negotiated the treaties. Some of the critics were doubtless sincere, but others were chiefly anxious to exploit the current anti-foreign feeling as a weapon against the Shogunate. In any case, the development of foreign intercourse made the old dualism, a titular authority

in Kyoto and a *de facto* authority at Yedo, more and more embarrassing. The natural outcome of the situation was the Revolution or Restoration of 1868, which put an end to the Shogunate and concentrated authority in the Imperial Government under the young Emperor, Mutsuhito. There was some fighting but it lasted for a few months only; and, by 1869, this part of the Revolution was an accomplished fact. As an outward and visible sign of the new order the imperial residence was transferred from Kyoto to Yedo.

In the overthrow of the Shogunate, reactionary and anti-foreign elements had coöperated with other groups which recognized the futility of the isolation policy and the necessity of adapting ancient institutions to the new conditions. The triumph of these two radically different groups was inevitably followed, therefore, by a conflict within the ranks of the victorious party. Fortunately the really active men, who were largely *samurai*, or gentry, rather than nobility in the strict sense, were, for the most part, believers in a comparatively liberal policy, which soon found significant, though somewhat indefinite, expression in the Imperial Oath of 1868. The new Government hastened to declare its acceptance of Japan's new status in the family of nations and its determination to protect the foreigners. Whether the Imperial Oath implied the establishment of representative government in the ordinary Western sense is a debatable question; but in any case the importance of public opinion was recognized. Notable also were such phrases as these: 'Uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through. . . . Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.

Revolutionary as these policies seemed to Japanese thinkers of the old school, they were only the beginning of the real revolution. In March, 1869, a few months before Greene's arrival in Japan, the most powerful of the *daimyo* had proposed, doubtless under pressure, to surrender to the Em-

peror their ancient titles to the feudal allegiance of their subjects, thus making possible 'one central body of government, and one universal authority . . . so that all matters of State, both great and small, may be decided by one and the same authority . . . and this country will be placed upon a footing of equality with foreign powers.' The proposal was at once accepted by the Imperial Government and two years later the old feudal domains were transformed into prefectures, governed by agents or the central Government. The principle of centralization was carried into the army, the revenue system, the administration of justice, and even the field of education. Military service and taxation were henceforth due not to any feudal lord, but directly by every subject, high or low, to the Emperor. These administrative changes were accompanied by radical departures from the old class system. The ancient orders of nobility continued and were reënforced by a new nobility largely of promoters of the 'Restoration'; but the new order rested upon the general principle of equality before the law, as regards personal and property rights and even eligibility to the civil service.

Especially significant for the whole political, social, and intellectual development of the country were the *samurai*. This was primarily a military class; but their social status may best be described by the European term, gentry. Though trained from childhood to the military art, they had furnished not merely the fighting men but also, to a large extent, the civil administrators, the political advisers, and the intellectual leaders of the nation. The Revolution brought to this group, as a whole, the loss of special privileges, legal and economic, and involved for many of them serious hardships. On the other hand, the process of transformation was for the better element among the *samurai* a stimulating experience, enlarging their intellectual horizon beyond provincial and even national bounds, and giving them new opportunities for leadership. It was from this class that Greene and his fellow-

missionaries drew a large proportion of their Japanese advisers and colleagues.

Obviously changes of this kind, following each other in rapid succession during the early years of Greene's career in Japan, could not take place without serious friction. Conservatives were alarmed by the sweeping away of time-honored privileges and institutions and the *samurai* complained that pledges of reasonable compensation had not been fairly kept. On the other hand, the liberals were impatiently demanding a rapid advance to fully representative government, preferably on the English model. Though disagreeing in their positive programme, liberals and reactionaries agreed in attacking the bureaucratic elements in the Imperial Government. Finally, a section of the reactionary opposition, though professing entire loyalty to the Emperor, rose in armed rebellion against his Government. This 'Satsuma Rebellion' of 1877, though led by one of the ablest promoters of the Restoration, was quickly crushed by the superior resources of the central Government. The new national army, recruited from all classes of society and organized on Western lines, proved itself far more effective than the picturesque chivalry of the old-time *samurai*.

Nevertheless, the uprising of 1877 and the assassination of one of the ablest ministers showed the need of more consideration for public opinion. Preparation for national representative institutions was made by the inauguration of local assemblies in the prefectures and, finally, the agitation of the liberals for a parliamentary system was met by the promise in 1881 of a national assembly and a new constitution. In 1889, twenty years after Greene's arrival in Japan, the constitution was promulgated; and, in 1890, the first national parliament met in Tokyo. Imperfect as it certainly was from the point of view of Western liberalism, the new system marked an extraordinary advance over the conditions of 1869.

The economic and social changes which accompanied this constitutional transformation cannot be adequately dealt with here; but their significance for the Christian movement in Japan, through the weakening of traditional ideas and institutions, will be indicated from time to time as this story proceeds. Enough has been said, however, to show that when the young New-Englander arrived in Tokyo, he could see all about him not so much a completed revolution as revolution actually in progress. Indeed, he himself, his associates, and the ideas which they represented became a real part of the revolutionary process.

Though the Tokyo of 1869 stood only on the threshold of the new era, the comparative safety of the handful of foreigners then living in the city marked a decided advance over the conditions prevailing only a year or two earlier. In 1868, the British Minister and his escort had been attacked in the streets of Kyoto on their way to an audience with the Emperor, and the city of Tokyo had been the scene of sharp fighting between the Imperialists and the supporters of the Shogun. By 1869, however, order had been fairly well established; Tokyo was definitely opened to foreign residents, and the representatives of all the treaty powers were formally received by the Emperor himself in the old palace of the Shoguns, with every mark of respect and courtesy. Later, in the same year, the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh and the proceedings of the court in his honor emphasized still further the liberal attitude of the Government toward the formerly despised foreigners.

Lord Redesdale, who became a member of the British legation in Tokyo in 1866 and left the city January 1, 1870, a few days after Greene entered it for the first time, has described vividly the contrast between earlier and later conditions: 'For nearly four years,' he says, 'I never wrote a note without having a revolver on the table, and never went to bed without a Spencer rifle and a bayonet at my hand.' Of

conditions after the collapse of the Shogun's forces, he wrote, half a century later: 'The great city through which the furies had been raging so violently, burning temples, setting fire to *yashikis* [residential enclosures], fighting, murdering, crucifying, the streets ringing with the fierce war-songs of the clansmen, was now at peace. . . . It was a blessed calm after the storm.' 'Still,' he adds, 'it would not have been wise as yet to lay aside revolver and sword . . . there was always the danger lest some fanatic swashbuckler, perhaps in his cups, might empty his scabbard in our honor.'

Greene's correspondence also shows some anxiety about drunken *ronin* (unattached *samurai*) and unsettled conditions which might lead 'to another struggle before long.' He mentions also the advantages of having foreign guardsmen near by and foreign warships in the bay. These things, however, do not seem to have disturbed him seriously. He was more interested in studying the normal activities of the community.

His letters give many interesting glimpses of life and manners. He describes the houses at some length — buildings of one or two stories, of wood with tiled or thatched roofs. Conspicuous among them were the *godowns* or fireproof storehouses, built of mud or clay, with walls three or four feet thick and heavy shutters. He was impressed with the neatness of the houses and shops which no one was expected to enter without removing his shoes; but the people in the streets were not, he thought, so neat as their houses, with 'dark cotton clothes' looking 'dingy' even when new. Costumes naturally interested a newcomer and the differentiation of dress among the various classes — *samurai*, merchants, and coolies, the latter 'not very particular about dress anyway' who could be seen at work in the rice-hulling establishments 'almost entirely without clothing.' The coolies were not the only people who displayed a similar simplicity of manners; others, too, might be seen 'returning from their

baths even in cold weather,' dressing as they passed through the streets or postponing the operation altogether until they reached their houses.

The central feature of the city, then as now, was the old palace of the Shoguns lately transformed into the Emperor's residence. About it were heavy walls and great moats filled with water, within which the Emperor lived in a seclusion far greater than that of any contemporary European ruler. In other quarters were the two great enclosures of Shiba and Uyeno, containing Buddhist temples and the impressive mortuary shrines of Tokugawa princes. The imperial precincts have remained comparatively little changed and many of the street scenes described by visitors of the late sixties and early seventies may still be seen, though earthquake and fire have worked havoc with many ancient monuments. In other respects, however, the contrasts are startling.

In 1869, the canals and other waterways which intersected the city had an importance, long since lost, with the coming of better streets and more convenient vehicles — the *kuruma*, the tram-car, and finally the automobile. It was possible to 'go almost anywhere by boat'; in fact it was 'the pleasantest way of getting about' and quite as cheap as the *norimono*, or chairs, then used in the streets. Travelers who ventured out at night furnished their own lanterns, and survivors of that period recall the picturesque effect of the moving lights as people passed to and fro over the bridges. Like many foreign observers, Greene was struck with the deliberation shown by the Japanese in their business transactions. One part of the formality required in renting a house was the signing of a 'lease written on a roll nearly a yard long.'

Greene was already attacking the language problem and coming to appreciate how extraordinarily complex it was, with the necessity of mastering, not only the strictly Japanese vernacular, but an immense number of Chinese charac-

ters. Observing the difficulties of the young Japanese who were trying to combine the traditional Sino-Japanese learning with the mastery of one or more European languages, he speculated as to the possibility of their adopting the Roman alphabet. Through the courtesy of David Thompson, of the American Presbyterian mission, he was presently able to employ a Japanese teacher, Ichikawa Einosuke, who later accompanied him to Kobe.

In their going about the city, the young Americans naturally attracted much attention, especially Mrs. Greene, for there were very few European or American ladies then living in Yedo. 'There must have been about fifty after us one day we were out, and if we stop at a store the crowds swell immensely.' This usually quite innocent curiosity was at times embarrassing; even more so to Westerners was the difficulty of maintaining privacy in their living quarters. Yet they found also much friendliness and courtesy. One young man whom the Greenes employed for miscellaneous services during their first days in Tokyo was a young *samurai* or *ex-samurai* who had fought on the side of the Shogunate against the Imperialists and was said to have lost his sword in consequence. They were impressed with his quickness in taking directions and his faithfulness in carrying them out.

Many years later, Greene recalled how, during these early Tokyo days, he and his wife had 'been enabled to catch something of the enthusiasm which the recent changes had awakened.' They were impressed with the eagerness of the Japanese to learn English and 'their great respect for the superior knowledge of foreigners with regard to things in general,' as seen, for instance, in their employment of teachers and scientific experts. All this inspired the hope that they might 'think equally well of our religion.' Of special interest as an illustration of current interest in Western knowledge is Greene's account of a visit to a Japanese whom he describes as 'one of the most learned men in Japan': 'He can read

English easily but cannot speak it. He received us very cordially, brought out some tea and oranges, and we ate and drank with him.' They saw, among European books, English, French, and Russian dictionaries; an English dictionary of the Acts in two volumes and a German work of the same kind; Mitchell's Atlas; an English translation of Swedenborg's 'Heaven and Hell'; and finally a number of Dutch books.

During these four months, Greene also made the acquaintance of distinguished pioneers of American missions in Japan — James C. Hepburn and Guido F. Verbeck, representing respectively American Presbyterians and the Dutch Reformed Church. With both men, and especially with Dr. Hepburn, he subsequently became more intimate; but they both deserve mention at this point, because of their extraordinary services in promoting international understanding, at a time when direct missionary propaganda was not practicable except to a very limited extent. Both received high honors not only from their own countrymen but from the Japanese Government.

Hepburn came of Scotch-Irish stock on one side of the house, with a Calvinistic inheritance reënforced by his associations at Princeton College; but his interest in science carried him on to a medical course at the University of Pennsylvania. Fortunately, however, in view of his future responsibilities, he got at Princeton some Latin and Greek. After finishing his medical course in 1836, he practiced for a time in Pennsylvania; but his strong religious convictions finally led him to become a medical missionary, first at Singapore and then in China. He remained there until 1845, forming many close personal associations with the merchants, diplomatists, and missionaries who made up the European society of the Chinese treaty ports — a capable, vigorous group of men, thoroughly imbued with the pioneering spirit. Especially significant, perhaps, is Hepburn's association in China with such Americans as Peter Parker and S. Wells

Williams, both representatives of the American Board who were from time to time called upon to perform diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic functions of considerable importance. Thus the missionary of that day was naturally led to a large conception of his function as an intermediary between East and West.

Ill-health interrupted Hepburn's missionary career, and for years he practiced medicine in New York City; but the call of the East was too strong for him and he abandoned a successful practice to become one of the founders of the Presbyterian mission in Japan. It is significant of the changes in communication which took place during the next decade that Hepburn's voyage to the Far East was made in a sailing vessel, the journey from New York to Shanghai occupying four months. Arriving in Japan in October, 1859, he established himself first at Kanagawa, adjoining Yokohama, which had originally been designated as the treaty port for foreign residents. Four years later he moved to Yokohama where Greene found him in 1869, and where he remained during the rest of his missionary career.

Though the treaties secured religious liberty to foreigners, there was quite properly no limitation on the right of the Japanese Government to establish such regulations as it saw fit for the control of its own subjects, and the prohibition of Christianity for Japanese subjects remained in force throughout the decade of the sixties. Little progress could therefore be made with direct missionary work; but Hepburn was by no means idle and there were certain directions in which he was able to accomplish results of lasting value.

As a physician, he was sought after both by Japanese patients and by students ambitious to learn something of Western medicine. Greene visited Hepburn's dispensary in December, 1869, and found there thirty to fifty patients calling daily for treatment. Half a century after this pioneer service began, there were some Japanese still living who recalled

gratefully Hepburn's help in the early years of their medical practice. The Japanese with whom he came in contact were especially impressed by the steadiness with which his work went on in the worst period of anti-foreign agitation. Count Hayashi, the distinguished diplomatist of later years, recalls the testimony of Hepburn's Japanese neighbors 'that he had never flinched from visiting his patients, or those people who required his help. In places that were considered the most dangerous, whenever and wherever his sense of duty or the nature of his mission called him to go, he went.'

Another important service which Hepburn rendered during the early years of the foreign community in Yokohama, was that of intermediary between the missionary and mercantile elements. Not only did he conduct religious services for the non-Anglican element, among the English-speaking residents; but he interested himself also in the material welfare of the community. When the foreign residents were organized in a distinct municipality, Hepburn was one of the American representatives in the Municipal Council and served on some of its important committees. Further indications of his prestige may be seen in the fact that he was offered the secretaryship of the American legation.

In the midst of these professional and civic services Hepburn found time for extensive linguistic studies, which in 1867 bore fruit in his Anglo-Japanese dictionary, long a standard work. Before his time there were a few fragmentary vocabularies and grammatical studies; but his own work was distinctly a pioneer enterprise. Furthermore, it was the work of a man who 'came to his task at the age of forty-five, not as a trained expert in philological study,' but as a physician, largely occupied hitherto by the requirements of a very different profession. Many years later, Greene wrote of the dictionary in terms which seem to express the judgment of competent critics generally: 'Naturally the dictionary suffers from the defects which inevitably show themselves

in such pioneer efforts, and it has been superseded by the work of later scholars; but it remains, and will remain, a monument to the painstaking scholarship of its compiler, a great achievement under especially difficult circumstances.' Already, too, he had begun the work of Biblical translation which, with the coöperation of other scholars, was to end in a complete Japanese version of the Old and New Testaments.

During the first months of Greene's career in Japan, it was probably Hepburn who was most useful to the newcomer and it was with the Hepburns that he and his young wife were invited to spend their first Christmas away from their native country. In a confidential and somewhat critical estimate of the missionary group written in March, 1870, he rated Hepburn as 'the ablest and best missionary here.' As the years went on, Greene's sympathies moved steadily away from the conservative theology of his older colleague, while his previous linguistic training led him to appreciate somewhat early the limitations of Hepburn's scholarship. On the other hand, Hepburn's large conception of the service possible to a missionary, as a mediator between peoples and civilizations, was one in which the veteran and the younger man could heartily agree.

Guido Verbeck, the other outstanding figure in the missionary group whom Greene met during the winter of 1869–70, resembled Hepburn in the vigor and range of his activities but was in many respects quite different. Hepburn's spiritual ancestry went back, in part at least, to the Scottish Calvinism of Knox and his successors. Verbeck's religious background, on the other hand, was chiefly that of continental Europe. A Dutchman by birth, his father was a Lutheran; but he himself was confirmed in the Moravian church of his native town and received his early training in a Moravian school. Trained as an engineer in the Polytechnic School of Utrecht, he came to the United States in 1852 and for a time found employment in the West; but he soon decided to enter the min-

istry and took a theological course at the Presbyterian Seminary of Auburn, New York. Meantime, however, the missionary board of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America was looking for an 'Americanized Dutchman' to inaugurate a mission in Japan, a natural idea in view of the part taken by the Dutch in the opening of Japan to Western ideas. So it came about that Verbeck with two colleagues of the same Board embarked on a sailing ship, bound by the usual route around the Cape of Good Hope, to the China coast, where he spent the early autumn of 1859.

The post selected by Verbeck for his first work in Japan was Nagasaki, where for two centuries the Dutch traders had kept one door open for foreign intercourse. There he lived nine years, studying Japanese with such success that for many years he was considered the most distinguished speaker of that language among the foreign missionaries. Limited like the men of Yokohama and Tokyo in the matter of direct missionary propaganda, he gained influence by teaching English to students interested in Western matters, and during the last years at Nagasaki became the head of a government school for the study of science and foreign languages. Among his pupils were some men who rose to high rank in the imperial service. Incidentally Verbeck managed also to give some religious instruction. In 1872, when Greene was teaching a class of Japanese in Kobe, he learned that one of his pupils had an English letter written by Verbeck in 1861 urging the claims of Christianity. For eleven years that letter had been quietly circulated among the Japanese.

When Greene first visited Tokyo, Verbeck was in the government service there, helping to organize an imperial college and giving advice on a variety of educational problems. It was on his advice, for instance, that Japanese medical education was based on German practice and given largely in the German language. His influence was not confined to education, for he was consulted on some difficult

problems of international diplomacy. In December, 1871, he wrote, referring to the important 'Iwakura Mission,' sent abroad to secure a revision of Japan's treaties with the Western powers: 'I have had more to do with the getting up of this mission than I could now say.'

Though Verbeck and Hepburn were then the outstanding representatives of American missionary enterprise in Tokyo and Yokohama, others were engaged in similar work learning the language and acquiring a prestige among the Japanese which prepared the way for direct religious teaching. Within a few days after his arrival, Greene was beginning instruction in English with a small group of Japanese, 'as pleasant pupils as one could ask for.' He was impressed with the strategic position of Tokyo as the gathering-place of *samurai* from all parts of the Empire. This was a matter of special importance then because foreigners could legally reside only in a small number of treaty ports.

Before long, however, Greene decided that however important Tokyo might be, it was not, for him, the best starting-point. In the company of Henry Blodgett, an experienced missionary of the American Board in China, who was deeply interested in the Japanese situation, Greene visited Hyogo, a city on the 'Inland Sea,' which had been opened to foreign intercourse about two years before and which, with the contiguous settlement of Kobe, was rapidly assuming importance as a commercial center. After spending a little more than a week there, he decided, in accordance with Blodgett's advice, to leave Tokyo for this new post.

One reason for the change was the desire to begin work in a place not occupied by other missions. Though hospitably received by the Americans in Yokohama and Tokyo, Greene wished to guard against possible friction resulting from different points of view or an undesirable kind of competition. At Kobe, nearly four hundred miles away, he and his future associates could develop their own policies without

embarrassment. The only other Protestant mission in that section was that of the American Episcopal Church, about twenty miles away at Osaka, under the direction of Bishop Williams, one of the pioneers of 1859. Greene had a conference with Williams, who had an enviable reputation outside of his own mission as well as within it, as 'a very modest unassuming man, deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ, and very self-denying in his life.' Williams's attitude was cordial and there seemed to be no prospect of difficulties in that quarter.

For a young man of twenty-seven, quite new to the country and to the practical problems of missionary work, it was not easy to assume responsibility for a decision which might have far-reaching consequences. His instructions seemed, however, to leave the choice of location to his discretion and, in the absence of through cable service, the opinion of his home office could hardly be had in less than two months. Fortunately the Board, which had accepted the original selection of Tokyo, was equally ready to approve the change of base. Even before this formal approval was received, the Greenes had transferred themselves and their belongings to the new post. By the end of March, 1870, the Kobe Station of the American Board was definitely opened.

CHAPTER VI

A TREATY PORT IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES

Under the treaties made by the Japanese Government with foreign powers in 1854 and 1858, certain 'treaty ports' were set apart, of which the most important, next to Yokohama, were Nagasaki, on the southern island of Kyushu, and Hyogo, near the eastern entrance of the Inland Sea, a body of water lying between the main island of Hondo and the southern islands of Shikoku and Kyushu. The opening of Hyogo was, however, delayed, as the result of anti-foreign feeling, until 1868. Though Hyogo had formerly been a place of some importance, it was presently overshadowed by, and finally merged into, the municipality of Kobe, which had been, up to this time, only an obscure fishing village. It was in this latter place that a small tract of land was set apart for the foreign 'settlement.' When Greene first visited Kobe in 1870 he described it as a 'beautiful place for residence, with a foreign community of about 400.' Here, as at Yokohama, the presence of the foreign merchants led to a rapid expansion of the Japanese population.

The importance of Kobe was due partly to its excellent harbor, on the natural route from Yokohama to the Western provinces and the China coast; and partly to the proximity of important centers. Kyoto, the ancient capital, was less than fifty miles distant and the great industrial city of Osaka not quite twenty. Though Tokyo was the largest single urban center, Kobe was the natural outlet of a more densely settled area. To foreigners, especially, another advantage of this neighborhood was its climate which was considered more healthful than that of the other treaty ports. Indeed it was said to be a health retreat for the families of foreign merchants in China.

To all these practical advantages may well be added the beauty of the landscape in which Kobe was placed. There was the outlook on the harbor, with ocean steamers coming and going and the picturesque old-time craft — junks, sampans, and fishing boats. Closing in around the harbor and the city was a range of picturesque hills. One of Greene's associates, who arrived nearly two years later, wrote with enthusiasm: 'I think this bay with its encircling hills and villages nestling at their feet on the shore is the most beautiful scene I ever beheld.' The first permanent house into which the Greenes moved, about a year after their arrival, stood on rising ground overlooking the bay. Their immediate neighborhood, now densely settled, was then comparatively open, with rice fields close at hand. The house itself was new, having been built by Japanese carpenters under Greene's direction.

In the Kobe of the early seventies the foreigners, with their business establishments on the Bund or adjoining it, formed a cosmopolitan group. There were, first, the consular offices of the American, British, and several Continental European governments. In those days of extraterritoriality, the consuls held a more important position in the community than they now do; for it was they, rather than the Japanese authorities, who exercised jurisdiction over the persons and property of their nationals. Besides the consular courts, there was the Hyogo Municipal Council, which included along with the Japanese governor of this prefecture, the consuls and certain other foreign residents. International trade was represented by companies of various nationalities — American, British, Dutch, German, and French; some, like the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the American firm of Augustine, Heard and Company, and the Netherlands Trading Society, were concerns with extensive interests in other parts of the Far East. There was a 'General Chamber of Commerce' for Hyogo and Osaka; and the social interests

of the foreign community were served by such organizations as the Kobe Club and a Masonic lodge. Englishmen and Americans preponderated and soon had two newspapers in the English language — the 'Hyogo News' and the 'Hyogo and Osaka Herald.'

The four years of Greene's residence in Kobe saw a marked development in the international contacts of this community. Trans-Pacific steamship service was not ideal, and even in 1874 one of Greene's colleagues wrote, that 'anybody who rides 25 days on "The Colorado" with her unwholesome staterooms and poor food, will need a week or so on the first land he sights.' By that date, however, there were semi-monthly mails across the Pacific. The first telegraphic message was sent from Yokohama to Tokyo in January, 1870, a little more than a month after Greene's arrival in Japan; and by 1873 there were telegraph lines connecting Kobe, Osaka, and Kyoto with Nagasaki and Tokyo. By this time also telegraphic communication was established with the European world through a submarine cable between Nagasaki and Shanghai. In 1873, one of the Kobe missionaries reported that the local papers were printing telegraphic news from Europe and the United States: 'So far from being out of the world in remote Japan, we are in the very highway of nations.' Railroad-building lagged behind and complete railway communication between Kobe and Tokyo had to wait until the next decade; but in 1874 the railway between Kobe and Osaka was open for traffic, and the rapid extension of Japanese postal facilities soon made possible the abandonment of the foreign post-offices, previously thought necessary. The domestic postal service was admitted by foreign observers to be 'trustworthy, prompt and inexpensive.'

The importance of these changes for missionaries and merchants alike is obvious. The foreigners who represented Europe and America in Japan were no longer the only

bearers of the new ideas, for postal and telegraphic communication now afforded many other means of direct contact between East and West. Nevertheless, it was still mainly by its representatives in their own country — diplomatists and merchants as well as missionaries — that the Japanese people had to judge the civilization of Western Christendom. From the beginning, Greene was deeply impressed by the importance of this factor in the missionary problem. More and more he came to feel that the appeal of Christianity to the Japanese people must depend largely on the maintenance of Christian standards by the Western men and women who formed the foreign communities of the Far East.

With these convictions, he was naturally much disturbed by certain aspects of life in the treaty ports. The drunken sailors, who often defied the efforts of the Japanese authorities to preserve order; the profligate habits of many foreign merchants, who enjoyed the sense of emancipation from traditional restraints, 'where there ain't no Ten Commandments'; the specifically anti-Christian propaganda of foreigners, whose judgment as scholars and scientific experts in other fields had won the respect of the Japanese. Taken as a whole, these conditions were seriously embarrassing to the early missionaries, especially to those of Puritan antecedents. Greene's feelings on this subject came out frequently in his letters. Hyogo, he wrote, after his first visit, 'like all cities in the East, is a perfect Sodom.' He was distressed to see 'how respectable vice is in this part of the world. It is horrible.' He and his wife commented on the hard drinking, among women as well as men; Mrs. Greene was especially troubled by the case of one woman in the last stages of alcoholism whom they tried unsuccessfully to help.

Nevertheless, the foreign community also had its group of right-minded merchants, maintaining decent standards in business and in private life, with whom, as the years went on, Greene found it possible to coöperate in various forms of

service. Indeed his selection of Kobe as his first permanent station was partly influenced by the thought that, while he was learning the Japanese language and while the old edicts against Christianity were still in force, he would be able to serve the religious needs of the English-speaking residents. The mission authorities at Boston had some misgivings about his undertaking such work among the foreigners; but it seemed to him that he could not disregard his obligations 'to hundreds who speak the same language with myself who have no one besides myself to act as their religious teacher.'

Within a few weeks after his arrival, he began holding Sunday services in English in a hall offered him rent-free by the Masons. Through his persistent efforts in raising subscriptions, and the coöperation of some public-spirited merchants, both British and American, this enterprise finally developed into the Union Protestant Church of Kobe. It was hard work for him and the financial responsibilities which he assumed proved embarrassing; but his efforts were finally rewarded by the purchase of a lot and the construction of a church building under his direction. An interesting phase of this early enterprise was his effort to coöperate with those who preferred the Episcopal service. At the suggestion of the Anglican Bishop Alford of Hong-Kong, Greene himself undertook to read the prayer-book service twice a month, the alternate Sundays being taken by a colleague who disapproved of Greene's departure from the Puritan tradition. The day on which the latter officiated was accordingly known as 'Low Church Sunday,' and Greene's as 'High Church Sunday.' The experiment attracted the attention of the Boston office which regretted such 'conformity to episcopal usages' as tending to discredit among the Japanese the 'simpler forms' of the Congregational churches. Greene finally gave up the experiment, leaving the Anglican services in this church to the clergy of that communion.

The growth of the foreign community was not merely a

complicating factor in missionary policy; it also increased living expenses for the individual missionary. The regular salary in 1871 was the modest sum of nine hundred dollars; the Board also provided him with a house and when a child was born a small allowance was made for its support. The Greenes had some private funds which brought in a small additional income; but soon after their settlement in Kobe these funds were dissipated through unfortunate handling in America. During these years also their first three children were born. For a young and comparatively inexperienced couple, the task of keeping the cost of living within the necessary limits seemed almost hopeless, especially with the high prices almost inevitable in a rapidly expanding community. In 1873, a newcomer wrote: 'Kobe is growing as fast as any Western town in the States.' Rents were abnormally high and food prices as well, for those accustomed to an American dietary; and neither Greene nor his wife was sufficiently robust to experiment with the strictly Japanese fare.

No doubt some of Greene's colleagues were better prepared by previous experience for the close paring of household budgets. One of them, whose standards in such matters were simple, not to say severe, generously recognized this difference; but defended his friend against the charge of extravagance, noting the plainness and simplicity of his house. It was hard to make the local conditions clear to the Board officers in Boston who, though sympathetic, had their own financial problems to consider. Exceptional action was sometimes taken, however, to meet difficult situations. The details need not be gone into; but the essential fact, which may be stated here once for all, is that during almost the whole of Greene's missionary career, the problem of making both ends meet was a source of serious anxiety, at times an almost crushing burden.

During his early years at Kobe, financial anxieties and the

feeling that his course did not wholly meet the approval of the Board led him for a short time to think of withdrawing from the mission. In March, 1871, hearing that one of the American missionaries was considering the acceptance of a teaching appointment in the service of a *daimyo*, with permission to give some religious instruction, Greene wrote to Boston: 'As a preparation for preaching, such a life would be as useful as my present, while it would save the Board the burden of my support, and more than this it would increase vastly my opportunities of giving religious instruction.' Two months later, he was deeply moved by an apparent lack of confidence in his judgment as a missionary and offered his resignation. The Board, however, promptly declined it and a cordial letter from one of the secretaries brought the incident to a fortunate conclusion.

One of the most serious missionary problems during the early seventies was the attitude of the Government toward Christianity. Under the old régime, both the public and private profession of Christianity were illegal. After the negotiation of the Western treaties, foreigners were free to conduct their own religious services; and under the system of extraterritorial jurisdiction, they were fairly safe in such incidental efforts as they might make to communicate Christian ideas. For the Japanese, however, it was a different matter. In Tokyo and Yokohama, where the influence of foreign opinion was most strongly felt, it was possible comparatively soon for a Japanese to profess Christianity without serious consequences, except of a social character. Indeed, a few of them had already done so at the time of Greene's arrival. Nevertheless, the anti-Christian edicts were still posted throughout the Empire and could not be wholly ignored, for if certain officials were disposed to adopt a more tolerant policy they were held back by the reactionary element. One feature of the 'Restoration' of 1868 had been the so-called 'Shinto revival,' which emphasized the ex-

clusive claims of this national cult as the established religion of the State over against the foreign corruptions of Buddhism and Christianity. To many Japanese, the neglect of the Shinto rites by Christian converts appeared disloyal and unpatriotic.

During the early years of Greene's service in Japan, there was a recrudescence of religious persecution, especially in the neighborhood of Nagasaki, where the Jesuit propaganda of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been particularly successful. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Tokugawa Government, the Catholic tradition survived in a few communities and public attention was directed toward its adherents by the renewal of Catholic missionary effort, which naturally followed the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. Just before Greene's arrival, several thousand Catholic Christians were exiled from their homes and distributed over various parts of the Empire, some of them on the remote island of Yezo.

Greene's sympathies were deeply enlisted on behalf of these fellow-Christians. In March, 1871, he wrote of thousands 'cooped up in filthy dens, or forced to live in that most barren Yesso with no sufficient means of sustaining life, so that we have reason to fear that a large proportion of them have already perished from cold and exposure the past winter.' He felt that the foreigners were not altogether clear of responsibility in this respect, since the actual transportation was 'certainly in part, and I think I am right in saying it was chiefly done by vessels carrying the flags of Christian nations; and that of America is not, I am sorry to say, without a stain in this matter.' Under these circumstances, he urged an appeal to the Western governments, and in particular to the United States, to use their influence with the Japanese authorities to stop the persecution, 'for humanity's sake if not on religious grounds.' He did not advocate the use of force, or any official recommendation of Christianity

by the Government, or the claiming of special privileges for missionaries as such; but he believed that foreign nations 'certainly may and ought to remonstrate, and do all that they possibly can to show the Japanese the folly and wickedness of their course.'

One of the most interesting documents in the archives of the Japan mission is a letter signed by Greene and his first colleague, O. H. Gulick, on May 15, 1871, laying before the Board the facts about the persecution of Catholic Christians. Recalling the Scriptural 'command to remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them,' they reviewed the discussion which took place on this subject in the Japanese Foreign Office, January 19, 1870. At that conference, the heads of several foreign legations, including the American, British, and French ministers, discussed with high officials of the Japanese Government the general issue of religious toleration. The Japanese representatives urged that their government must control its own subjects and declared that the Christians were not punished for their religion, but because their conduct was considered insubordinate and disrespectful to the Emperor. The foreign ministers, however, insisted that the persecution was really on religious grounds and entered their protest against it. Under these circumstances, the Board was asked, in concert with other organizations, to appeal to the authorities in Washington 'to require of the Japanese Government full religious toleration' including 'all Christians of whatever race, living in this land.' Similar ground was taken in a document signed by representatives of several American and British missions in Japan, and one of their number was commissioned to bring this subject before the Western governments.

When the Iwakura Mission, which included some of the most distinguished leaders of the Restoration, was sent abroad in 1871, in the effort to secure treaty revision, the time seemed to be opportune for impressing upon the Japa-

nese leaders the importance of conciliating foreign opinion by a liberal religious policy. In December, 1871, Greene referred to the prospective arrival of this embassy in America, observing that they were likely to study among other things the problem of religious toleration, and urging that every effort be made to 'bring the matter before their minds in the strongest possible light.' Commenting on the personnel of the delegation, he noted the presence of one man who was thought to be especially responsible for the persecution of Christians; but he also referred to Ito, later Prince Ito, as 'an intelligent man, thoroughly in sympathy with foreigners' whose 'connection with the Embassy augurs well for its success.'

In the summer of 1871, an incident occurred which brought the whole issue home in a more personal way than ever before. On the night of June 30, 1871, Greene and his colleague, O. H. Gulick, were startled by the news that their Japanese teacher, Einosuke (or Yeinosuke) Ichikawa, originally employed by Greene in Tokyo and brought on by him to Kobe, had just been arrested. Failing to receive information from the local authorities as to the whereabouts of the prisoner or the charges against him, the missionaries appealed to the American consul, who, after unsuccessfully claiming Ichikawa's release as 'an employee in American service,' referred the matter to Mr. DeLong, the American Minister in Tokyo. Finally, the Japanese Foreign Office announced, in response to DeLong's inquiry, that Ichikawa, who was not living on the premises of his foreign employers, had not been formally reported as in their service, and that his arrest did not violate any 'treaty right.' Furthermore, since the United States Government had no jurisdiction over Japanese subjects, it was declared useless to inquire into the nature of the prisoner's offense.

For more than a year it was impossible to secure information as to the fate of Ichikawa or of his wife, who had been

arrested with him; but word was finally received of his death in prison at Kyoto, in November, 1872. His American friends were convinced that 'the sole offense of our late teacher is friendship for us and inclination toward Christianity.' It was significant also that a few days after Ichikawa's arrest, the 'Hyogo News' contained the following notice: 'The laws anent religion must be strictly observed; and people are ordered to complain if any one speaks to them about the Christian religion, or attempts to persuade them to take it up.' The prisoner was apparently never formally tried and convicted; but his widow reported that on the preliminary examination he had acknowledged himself to be a Christian.

The autumn and winter following Ichikawa's arrest were a period of great anxiety. In January, 1872, Greene wrote: 'We are all stirred up again by the arrest of some sixty or seventy native Christians near Nagasaki and have lost our regular teachers, who were afraid of sharing the same fate.' Gradually, however, the prospects brightened and in the following summer he wrote, that he was not 'particularly despondent, for the question of toleration is only one of time.' He noted that Shinto had been in a sense 'disestablished,' though it continued to have a unique place in certain official ceremonies. Furthermore, the Government censor had lately permitted the publication in a Japanese paper of an article asserting that Christianity was no more a foreign religion than Buddhism or Confucianism. There was also a change for the better in the local administration. The new governor, Kanda, was much more liberal than his predecessor and intimated that, though legally bound to prosecute in case of complaint, he would not 'busy himself in searching out cases to prosecute.' It is significant of the governor's state of mind that he already had a son studying in America, who subsequently graduated at Amherst College and had a distinguished educational career in his own country.

The year 1873 proved to be a memorable one for the history of religious liberty in Japan. Formal intervention by foreign states was fortunately avoided; but the Japanese Government was not indifferent to international public opinion, especially at a time when it was seeking concessions from the Western powers. The Ichikawa case was apparently cited by Minister DeLong in the course of a conference between the Iwakura delegation and the American Secretary of State; and President Grant in an official speech to the Japanese embassy urged the importance of religious toleration. Finally, on February 19, 1873, the Imperial Government issued an order which, while leaving much to be desired from a theoretical standpoint, marked a real advance toward religious liberty. There was no positive declaration of policy, but it was provided that certain edicts, hitherto placarded throughout the Empire, should be removed; among those mentioned was that containing the prohibition of Christianity.

'As yet,' so Greene wrote a few days later, 'the order has attracted little attention, but there is no question about the meaning of it, indeed the whole matter was duly explained to the foreign representatives, and the purpose to tolerate Christianity openly avowed.' Perhaps 'this simple abrogation of the old edicts' might be 'better than anything more positive,' since it would be 'less likely to excite serious opposition.' There would be less danger of State intervention in favor of the new Western religion. The Government was, he thought, too much inclined 'to assume the leadership of almost everything new that is going on'; and there was some anxiety about the possibility of Christianity being taken up as a State religion. Such an outcome, the young New-Englander added, 'all men of Pilgrim stock would most sincerely deplore.'

Thirty-six years later, Greene recalled this memorable event and its effect on his own work. 'Soon there followed

the dawn of a better day. The edicts against Christianity were taken down from the notice-boards; Roman Catholic Christians, the remnant of the fruit of the zeal of Xavier and his associates and successors, were restored to their homes and it was our privilege to minister to some of them as they passed through the streets of Kobe. Gradually the consciousness of freedom spread among the people and our little chapel was thronged with curious listeners.'

CHAPTER VII

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS AND PROCESSES

By 1873, missionaries in cities regularly opened to foreign residents could offer direct religious instruction and organize Japanese converts into churches without subjecting the latter to legal penalties. Outside of these treaty limits, foreigners could not go without special passports and, though such passports were given with increasing liberality, the privilege of permanent residence was for the present withheld. The first Japanese congregations of Protestant Christians were formed in the Tokyo–Yokohama district where the missionaries had been at work for more than a decade. In 1872, two such churches were formally organized, one in Yokohama and the other in Tokyo, both the result of coöperative action by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed societies. The first church under the auspices of the American Board Mission was organized at Kobe in 1874 — four years after Greene took up his work at that station. It was a very small group of men and women, but it became the nucleus of one of the largest groups of Protestant Christians in Japan. The process by which such a church came into being may therefore be regarded as typical of the process by which Western Christianity in its Protestant phase was, in a measure, naturalized in Japan.

The first task of the missionary who wished to communicate his ideas effectively was the learning of the language, a task more difficult than can readily be appreciated. The Western student of Japanese had none of those advantages which smooth the way for a man of one European nationality who tries to learn the vernacular of any other. An English-speaking student of French and German, for instance, is dealing with languages whose vocabulary and grammatical struc-

ture are to a considerable extent drawn from the same sources as his own and which embody, with all their differences, a certain common element of intellectual and spiritual experience. The European student of Japanese finds no such clearly discernible path from the known to the unknown; for the Japanese language is fundamentally unlike those of Europe in vocabulary and structure. Even this is by no means the whole story; for the Japanese language presents peculiar difficulties even to those for whom it is the mother-tongue. Between the language of the books and that of the market place, that of the scholar or professional man and that of the 'plain people,' there are differences far more serious than those which exist among the English-speaking peoples or those of Western Europe. Especially puzzling to the foreigner is the dependence of the Japanese literary language upon the Chinese characters which have to be painfully mastered by the children in the elementary schools, though the number used even by men of fair education in the ordinary business of life is comparatively small.

Greene's college and seminary training naturally led him to take his linguistic studies seriously. Fortunately his course had been smoothed for him by the work of such pioneers as Hepburn among the missionaries, and Satow of the British legation staff. In Tokyo and Kobe he had his Japanese teachers, and all through his life he was a careful student of the book language. But with a scholar's anxiety for precision and the maintenance of standards in speech which would win the respect of educated Japanese, he had an equally keen appreciation of the importance of knowing the colloquial speech of the common man. Among the earlier American missionaries he had an enviable reputation for linguistic accuracy; indeed it seemed to some of his Japanese friends that his striving for precision sometimes made his language too bookish and his appeal less effective than it might have been with less obvious effort. On the other hand, his most intimate

Japanese associate in the work of Biblical translation has spoken of Greene's 'good knowledge of colloquial Japanese' as perhaps his most important contribution to that work.

Some thoughts which Greene put on paper in 1873 illustrate his ideas about linguistic study at that time. He felt the need of 'one good solid year of study in the language,' in order to increase his vocabulary of ordinary Japanese, and at the same time to strengthen his Chinese. His ideal programme for this purpose would, he thought, include a 'good long forenoon' in his study with his teacher; but the afternoon should be spent in 'visiting from house to house with a view of correcting the tendency of the study of books to remove my vocabulary too far from the people. It is astonishing how limited the vocabulary of the common people is.' An American, he thought, could 'hardly conceive the possibility of such difference in the language of the upper and lower classes as we have in Japan.' Other demands made upon him during these years prevented the carrying out of such a programme; but he was already using the language for religious instruction.

Hardly less important than language study was the understanding of Japanese thought, especially in relation to religion and ethics; and this involved the study of a highly complex historical development.

First in the order of evolution was Shinto, the 'Way of the Gods,' a distinctly ethnic or national cult. Both its theology and its morality were extremely primitive; but it was deeply interwoven with the pieties of domestic and national life. It had a multitude of deities, small and great; but, in the minds of its official promoters especially, it was chiefly valued because upon it rested the conception of the imperial dynasty as a race whose line ran back to the great Sun-Goddess. Doubtless many practical statesmen of the Restoration regarded certain Shinto rites, especially those associated with the Emperor, somewhat as patriotic Americans look upon the

school exercise of saluting the flag, or the practice of rising in honor of the national anthem. It was not always easy to determine how far such rites might be treated as essentially civic in character, and hence permissible to Christian converts, and how far they had to be rejected, as acts of worship.

One result of the ethnic character of Shinto was the marked revival, in the first years of the Restoration, of the so-called 'pure Shinto.' A state department of this cult was established; efforts were made to eliminate from its observances real or supposed modern accretions; and there was for a time a distinctly hostile attitude toward Buddhism which, though long domesticated in Japan, was nevertheless of foreign origin. It soon became evident, however, that this attempt to rehabilitate Shinto would meet with serious obstacles. On the one hand, Western philosophy and science were far more dangerous to the primitive mythology of Shinto than to a more philosophic religion like Buddhism. On the other hand, popular Buddhism, as a way of salvation for the individual, had too strong a hold on the affections of the people to be so easily disposed of. Accordingly, in 1872, the State 'Department for Shinto Religion' gave way to the *Kyobusho* or 'Department for Religion'; and after a few months the latter was merged in the *Mombusho*, or 'Department of Education.' Shinto retained a certain special recognition in official ceremonies, especially those in which the Emperor was immediately concerned; but Government partisanship of the old faith, as against Buddhism, came to an end.

In a letter of July, 1872, Greene commented with satisfaction on the defeat of the extreme Shinto party, but at the same time emphasized the strength of Buddhism: 'Our great fight in Japan, it becomes more and more clear every day, is to be with B[uddhism] which I suspect presents itself in a far more vigorous form here than in China or any other part of the world.' This is not the place for a detailed exposition of

Japanese Buddhism; but its outstanding aspects may be briefly noted, as they appeared to foreign observers.

The later development of Buddhism in India brought considerable changes from the comparatively simple cult of the great Founder; and further transformations, especially in the 'popular religion,' took place when Buddhist missionaries made their way through China and Korea to Japan. The profounder teaching of an impersonal, mystic faith, with its spiritual exercises leading to the ultimate extinction of desire and even personal consciousness in the blessed state of Nirvana, was not abandoned; but, for the common man, Buddhism assumed the aspect of practical rules and external observances by which merit was to be acquired and salvation secured in this world and the next — a need which Shinto could not satisfy. Meantime, Buddhism, like Western Christianity, adapted itself, in some measure, to the cults of the peoples whom it sought to bring into its fold. Buddhist monks brought to Japan much that was distinctly Chinese, including Confucian ethics; and popular loyalty to native deities was conciliated by taking them into the new system as incarnations of Buddha. Thus Buddhism and Shinto were so entangled with each other that it became difficult to separate them, whether in architecture and temple ornaments or in the life of the ordinary believer. It has been said, for instance, with special reference to the Buddhist doctrine of a future state, that 'whatever a Japanese believes while he lives, he is a Buddhist when he dies.'

In short, 'popular Buddhism' presented the appearance of a practical polytheism in whose Pantheon native deities were hospitably included, or sometimes confused with canonized followers of the great Teacher. It built magnificent and gorgeously decorated temples, contrasting sharply with the simple shrines of primitive Shinto. There were elaborate rituals, too, and monastic orders for the special cultivation of the religious spirit. Finally, Buddhism, like Shinto, had numerous sects,

promoting particular tenets and often sharply antagonistic to each other.

Another powerful influence working upon Japanese ethics was the Confucian system. With its spirit of respect for ancient traditions and loyalty to those in authority — the father in the family, the sovereign in the state — it was valued for its influence in conserving the existing social order. For the ordinary man, Confucianism supplemented the popular religion; but for many educated men, who, like Confucius himself, concerned themselves little with theology, Confucianism became in itself a kind of religion.

During the forty years of Greene's career in Japan, his own attitude, and that of his colleagues, toward the existing religious and ethical systems underwent considerable changes. Certain modes of approach, however, were somewhat consistently followed. To begin with, the missionaries wished to replace the practical polytheism and animism of the masses, and the pantheistic tendencies of pure Buddhism, by a distinctly theistic faith. They emphasized, therefore, the idea of God as a loving Father revealing himself through the Incarnation. Of the distinctively Calvinistic theology much was either abandoned or left to the realm of non-essential speculation. In Greene's working creed, the controlling principle was his conception of a divine Providence, under whose direction 'all things work together for good to them that love God.' On the practical side, this group of missionaries stressed the Protestant idea of faith as against the prevailing emphasis on ceremonial observances as a means of acquiring merit. Finally an essential feature of Greene's thinking about the mission of Christianity to the Japanese was his belief that they sorely needed the Christian conception of the infinite worth of the individual human soul. The lack of respect for human life shown by the privileged classes in their dealings with inferiors and the one-sided emphasis of Confucianism on parental authority, which in the old days

made it possible for fathers to sell their daughters — these were illustrations which recurred frequently in his writings and addresses.

The polemic element was not conspicuous in Greene's religious teaching. The rôle of the iconoclast was not suited to his temperament; and, as time went on, he was increasingly inclined to seek for those elements in the older thinking which could be carried over into the Christian way of life. In his later years one of his circle of Japanese friends was a Buddhist Professor of Comparative Religion in the Imperial University of Tokyo.

Comparative religion was a neglected subject in the American universities and theological seminaries of the sixties and seventies; but Greene early recognized its importance for the missionary. In July, 1872, he spoke of the necessity of understanding Buddhism and asked for the purchase of books on the subject for his own use. 'The fact that at so many points it touches Christianity makes it of vital importance that we have clear views as to what its teachings are and as to its relations to Christianity.' About a year later, Mrs. Greene recorded in her journal an interesting visit with her husband to a Buddhist preaching service. Greene observed also that the Buddhists were taking up the serious study of Christianity. One priest had asked official approval for a proposed school 'to teach Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, and show conclusively the superiority of the first over the other two.' There was talk also of a Buddhist going abroad to study the practical working of Christianity with a view to counteracting its influence in Japan. Of interest in this connection is the statement made to the present writer by Mr. Matsuyama, one of Greene's favorite pupils, that his first object in studying Christianity was to attack it.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the older religions, Greene was convinced that they had largely lost their hold on the educated classes, especially among the *samurai*. Change,

it was said, there must be, and the question was whether the shift from Buddhism should be to Christianity or to 'infidelity.' The attitude of certain more advanced Japanese thinkers is suggested by some remarks of the liberal leader, Itagaki, in 1882. Speaking of the obstacles in the path of liberalism, he included among them 'our national education.' This, he said, was 'of three kinds, Shintoist, Confucianist, and Buddhist. The first is a relic of the old theocratic rule, and was long of valuable assistance to the ancient sovereign administration. Buddhism is an imported creed, and almost became the state religion, but is always subservient to politics, forming a link between government and faith. Again, in Confucianism we have a mixture of politics and religion, the principles controlling either being held to emanate from the same source, government being regarded as a paternal institution whose main office is to protect and instruct the people. Thus government and religion trespassing on each other's domains have interfered, here with the private life of the people, there with the administration of public affairs, inflicting injury on one side and on the other.'

The formation of the first church in Kobe was the result of a slow and at times discouraging process. By the summer of 1870, Greene, still working single-handed in Kobe, had acquired a vocabulary sufficient for the simpler kinds of conversation. He was reading a Chinese text of the Bible with two young men, one of whom was his teacher, and discussing religious subjects with them. This Japanese teacher, he wrote, had expressed 'his determination to be a Christian,' but he seemed hardly ready to risk a positive stand. The arrest of Ichikawa discouraged Japanese visitors who had been coming for purposes of religious inquiry; but, in the summer of 1872, this difficulty was disappearing and by autumn of that year, some Japanese friends were urging the mission to open a school. December of that year such a school was actually at work, under the direction of Greene and his new colleague

Davis, with about forty scholars. Greene's special part was a daily exercise in the reading of the English Old Testament. Some of the pupils participated in the reading; others listened and questions were freely asked. On Sundays a Bible class of twelve pupils was held in the schoolhouse. Most of the pupils, including members of the governor's family, came 'for the sake of the English but not all.' 'Three at least,' Greene wrote early in 1873, 'are thinking very seriously and we hope they may before long be baptized.' The following passage from the same letter brings the schoolroom scene vividly before us: 'In my schoolroom to-day, I had the privilege of preaching in my broken way to about twenty young men. It was rather a Bible class than a preaching exercise, and in something over an hour we read the first thirteen verses of John's gospel and I would not venture to ask for a more interested audience.'

The next step was the holding of regular services in the Japanese language. Premises were rented in one of the principal streets and the work began. A newcomer in the mission described with enthusiasm one of these early meetings, attended by nearly fifty Japanese who joined in the singing of hymns, accompanied by Mrs. Greene on her Mason and Hamlin organ. Then came Mr. Greene's sermon, with the speaker and his hearers seated in the Japanese fashion, the latter 'intent on all that was being said and done.' Mrs. Greene describes in her Journal for December, 1873, another meeting at which her husband spoke to 'an audience of about a hundred, and to all appearances an unusually interested one.' His text was: 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son'; 'he tried to show them as well as he could the yearning love God has for all the creatures He has made — who has given them all things not withholding His only Son.'

Conversations with Japanese whose memories go back to these early days indicate that the first missionaries met with

imperfect success in their efforts to put their ideas into the language of their hearers. Often, no doubt, the most serious appeal was so worded as to arouse the sense of humor, rather than to secure the response intended. These imperfections, however, apparently proved less disturbing than might be supposed. The Japanese who listened to these pioneer teachers were especially impressed by the genuineness of their human sympathies. One member of the first Kobe church, himself a man of fine scholarship, has pointed out that his countrymen were drawn to Greene and his associates largely because they seemed to embody the Christian spirit of self-devotion and of patient service, even to those whose conduct seemed most unpromising. He mentions, in particular, the case of a scapegrace cook who went from one form of dissipation to another, but whom Greene persistently refused to give up and who finally died a changed man.

By the autumn of 1873, Greene was looking forward to the next step, the formation of a group of converts into a definite church organization. 'To-night,' he wrote, 'five young men whom we have known for some time assembled at our house for conference and prayer with reference to the formation of a church. It was our first meeting for prayer and we feel greatly encouraged by the stand these young men are taking. How soon a church will be organized can hardly be said yet but we hope it will not be very long.' He noted, however, as one difficulty 'the reserve which every Japanese maintains in his intercourse with his friends even.' Finally, in April, 1874, he reported the organization of a church of eleven members, including both men and women; a majority were young men, largely of the *samurai* class. Five of the young men had come to the missionaries, either as students of English or as teachers of the Japanese language. They had studied the Bible as they might have studied Confucius, and the development of distinctly Christian feeling came slowly; but in the end 'the evidence of a true Christian experience was most gratifying

in every case.' Especially encouraging was their sense of responsibility for the spread of Christian teaching.

At the formal exercises, the rite of baptism was 'administered in the presence of one of the largest Christian congregations gathered in Japan since the second opening of the country.' Most of the speaking was done by young men of the congregation who explained the nature of the sacraments to their Japanese hearers. One of them was so 'carried away by the evident interest of his audience' that he 'lost all idea of the passage of time.' 'The interest, however, was sustained to the close.' A pleasant incident was the attendance of a Church of England missionary who pronounced the benediction. Greene took special satisfaction in the self-reliance of this new congregation. 'The members of the church,' he wrote, 'propose to do their own thinking, and I can hardly conceive any more delightful work than falls to a leader of such men.'

Among the men who came under Greene's influence in Kobe there were two who played important parts in the subsequent history of the Christian movement. One was his teacher of Japanese, Matsuyama (Seki), a fine example of the courteous cultivated gentleman of the old days, whom Greene regarded as 'the real leader' of the Kobe church and the probably unanimous choice of its members for the pastorate, had he not been called away for other service. He knew little or no English, but was 'a rare Chinese scholar' and had gained from Chinese texts of the Bible and other Christian literature in that language a knowledge of Christianity 'really surprising when one thinks how short a time he has been engaged in study.' He was conspicuous among the Japanese Christians for his thorough training in the old classical culture. 'With the possible exception,' Greene wrote at the time, 'of one or two of the higher government officers here, I doubt if there is in all this region a man more familiar with Chinese and Japanese literature than he.' Believing that

religion was essentially a thing of the spirit, Matsuyama questioned at first the propriety of sacramental rites which seemed to him an unnecessary concession to the ignorant and uncultivated; but his views changed and on the occasion of his baptism he spoke in defense of that rite, drawing his illustrations in part from Chinese and Japanese literature. It is a fact of some interest, in striking contrast with his earlier attitude, that in later years he entered the Anglican communion.

The second outstanding figure among Greene's pupils in Kobe was Sawayama, Paul Sawayama as he chose to be called after his conversion to Christianity. He came of a *samurai* family in the province of Choshu, whose *daimyo* was active in the anti-foreign movement and in the overthrow of the Shogunate. As a boy Sawayama had fought with his clansmen against the Shogun's troops; but when peace was restored he returned to his classical studies and sat for a time at the feet of a famous Confucian scholar. Presently, however, he became interested in Western civilization and went to Kobe, where he studied English with Greene and lived in his house. When the young man went to America for study he was taken into the household of Greene's married sister in Evanston. There he continued his English studies and made his first public profession of Christianity. Two things especially impressed his Evanston friends: One was 'the exquisite refinement of his manners,' which was 'not a mere surface politeness, but sprang from a desire to be of service to others.' The other was the thoroughgoing character of his religious devotion. In 'his heroic self-sacrifice, his sensitive conscientiousness, and the child-like simplicity of his faith, he seemed to have caught the spirit of the apostolic age.'

Returning to Japan in 1876, after a stay of four years in the United States, Sawayama resolutely put aside alluring prospects in the Government service, and became the pastor of a struggling church in the industrial city of Osaka. Under

his leadership, the church became especially conspicuous for its self-reliance; and though his career was cut short while still in his thirties, he was probably, all in all, the most notable figure among the early pastors of the Congregational group.

Such men as Matsuyama and Sawayama illustrate admirably, in their personalities and their careers, that fusion of the finer elements in the old order with the new Christian spirit, which is one of the most striking contributions made, not by these men only but by many others, to the Christian movement in Japan. It was, perhaps, not altogether accidental that such men were drawn to Greene and he to them; for there was in the dignity of the old-time standards something akin to his own ideal of the Christian gentleman, whose courtesy was no mere satisfaction of conventional demands but the symbol of mutual respect and good will.

It is impossible to read Greene's correspondence without realizing that a large part of his Christian service was rendered through the hospitalities of his home. He always felt strongly the responsibility resting upon the missionary family in this respect. It must, of course, exemplify Christian ideals of the family relationships — of husband and wife, of parents and children — in such a way as to win the respect of the Japanese. The Japanese also, in a somewhat different sense, emphasized the solidarity of the family; but they had doubts about the new status of women. To a large extent, Greene's Japanese friends became also the friends of his wife and of their children. Mrs. Greene's friendliness and her vivacity in conversation enabled her to extend widely her acquaintance with the Japanese, both men and women. Her command of their language was not so accurate as her husband's; but in social intercourse she spoke with less apparent effort.

Aside from the numerous callers who came and went, several Japanese became, for longer or shorter periods of time, members of the household. The widow of Greene's old teacher took refuge here, after her release from prison, giving

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such services with the children as her strength permitted. Mrs. Greene wrote about this in her journal: 'We have decided to take upon ourselves her entire support. We have at last learned to live on our salary, and we think we shall be able to do this too.'

Others were willing to perform various services for insignificant sums in order to learn Western ways. One day, Mrs. Greene noted in her journal that two Buddhist priests had attended family prayers that morning, one of whom was to become Greene's language teacher for a time. A little later, she wrote that the governor's nephew wished to 'become a member of our family, saying that he will do any work if he may only live with us. Our house, however, is about full of Japanese, and I should not know what to do with another.' Her cook was another Buddhist priest, 'just as neat as a pin.'

Suggestive of the part taken by Japanese friends in the family life is an account given by Sawayama of a summer visit to the Greenes: 'I enjoyed it more than anything else this summer. I have a great affection toward their children, and the children also like me very much, I think. . . . When they went to bed they all came to kiss me.' When Greene's second daughter was baptized it was this Japanese friend who administered the sacrament. After the Greenes left Kobe for Yokohama, Matsuyama and his young wife made a considerable stay at their house; and many years afterward, Mrs. Matsuyama recalled gratefully Mrs. Greene's advice about the care of children. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of associations like these in overcoming differences of race, language, and inherited tradition.

During the first year of Greene's life at Kobe, he worked without colleagues and the Boston office was so remote that exchange of opinions even on matters of first importance required a period of from two to three months. There were naturally times when the results of this isolated position were keenly felt. Gradually, however, one colleague after another

came out until the Mission came to be one of the largest in Japan.

Greene's first associate was Oramel H. Gulick, a man of striking personality, who in his later thirties had a varied experience behind him. The son of American missionaries in Hawaii, he belonged to a large family, several of whose members entered the service of the American Board. O. H. Gulick himself had been a missionary in Hawaii, serving as pastor of a Hawaiian church and head of a school for girls; but he had also tried his hand at other kinds of work. In a letter written in 1861 to the American Board, Gulick reported his experience as mate of the Morning Star, a missionary steamer, and later as commander of the schooner Nettie Merrill, ' the finest vessel in our island coasting fleet.' On the basis of this experience he proposed a plan for combining trade with missionary work in Micronesia, without liquor, tobacco, or firearms, then the principal items in the Micronesian trade. This nautical interest gives a special flavor to some of his correspondence with the Board. On the eve of his journey to Japan, he asked for 'some kind of sailing orders.' 'We seem,' he wrote, 'to belong to what is termed the flying squadron — ships whose commanders hold a roving commission. But even such ships must hold a regular commission from the head of the Admiralty, or they may be mistaken for pirates.'

Of Puritan antecedents, Gulick held firmly to orthodox traditions, more firmly than his young colleague from Andover, who occasionally caused him some anxiety by his willingness to compromise with Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Holding to the time-honored maxim, that nothing is 'settled until it is settled right,' he was a 'conscientious objector,' by temperament and conviction. These two pioneer colleagues did not always agree; and, both being human, the friction occasionally generated some heat. Both were, however, genuinely devoted to the common cause and mutual respect

made possible a lasting friendship. Mrs. Greene has described one mission meeting, at first 'very trying'; 'Mr. Gulick again on the offside . . . things growing very personal before the discussion was over. . . . Before the meeting closed, however, they came to a wonderful understanding of each other's feelings and made such apologies and acknowledgments to each other as were never made before and I for one feel sure that this endless series of misunderstandings is for the most part at an end.'

When, in 1893, Gulick left Japan permanently for Hawaii, Greene put on record a sympathetic, but not undiscriminating, estimate of his old colleague, emphasizing his special service in the work of publication, the deep impression made on the Japanese by his earnestness, and his genuine kindliness of spirit. 'I have not always agreed with him. Sometimes I have dissented with a good deal of emphasis'; but, he added, 'there is, perhaps, no one to whom we should more instinctively turn in time of sorrow or trouble.'

Quite different from Gulick in many ways but resembling him in vigor and picturesqueness of personality was Jerome D. Davis, also Greene's senior by several years. All three inherited the New England tradition, but Davis's early associations were with rural communities in central New York and the Middle West, and his college training was chiefly at Beloit, Wisconsin, an institution modeled on the Congregational colleges of New England. In 1861, he left college to enter the Union army, and served through the war. He acted as color sergeant at the battle of Shiloh, where he was severely wounded, and he left the service at the age of twenty-seven as colonel of his regiment. Throughout his army life Davis kept the strongly Puritan spirit with which he entered it and with courage, scarcely less of its kind than that shown during the war, he turned back to his college studies in order to prepare himself for the ministry. Two years later he completed his course in the Chicago Theological Seminary, where he and

Greene were classmates for a few months. Then came two years of rough service in the Far West, as pastor of a church in Cheyenne, Wyoming, and finally the decision to enter the foreign field.

Davis's most important work was done at the Doshisha College, of which he was one of the founders; but during his first years in Japan he worked with Greene at Kobe. Though Davis's knowledge of Japanese was less exact than that of some of his colleagues, his soldierly qualities and the thoroughgoing sincerity of his religious appeal gave him for many years a remarkable influence over the Japanese youth with whom he came in contact. A vigorous fighter when fighting seemed necessary, he was also a man of unusually generous and affectionate spirit. 'Mr. Davis,' said a colleague who on this occasion was standing strenuously for his own different views, 'is an earnest lover of good feeling and is one upon whom will rest the blessing pronounced upon peacemakers.' Greene was strongly drawn toward him from the beginning, and Mrs. Greene spoke of him as 'one of the most unselfish men I ever knew, a real John the Baptist sort of a man as Crosby says.' A few months later the Greenes showed their appreciation of this friendship by naming their third son Jerome Davis.

The fourth member of the pioneer group at Kobe was the medical missionary, J. C. Berry, a New-Englander by birth, but of Methodist rather than Congregational antecedents, who had received his professional training at the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. An active-minded, energetic worker, if not a profound scholar, he made a real contribution to the cause of medical education in Japan through his dispensary and the International Hospital at Kobe. A few years later, Berry inspected, by authority of the Imperial Government, prisons in various parts of the Empire, making a report which was widely distributed and seems to have had considerable influence on prison administration. Miss

Isabella Bird, whose 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan' was one of the most useful travel-books of the time, was much impressed by the 'courtesy and suavity' through which he had 'won the good will of the Government.'

The three men just mentioned, and a fourth, Dr. M. L. Gordon, who proceeded at once to a new station at Osaka and of whom more will be said later, arrived at Kobe by the close of the year 1872. Though the tangible results of missionary work up to that time were not large, much was being said about the possibility of rapid progress, under increasingly favorable conditions. The result was a large increase in personnel, until by the end of 1874 there were fifteen men and women, not including the wives of missionaries. A similar rate of growth was maintained during the later seventies and the early eighties. By 1880, there were sixteen churches connected with this mission, chiefly concentrated in the cities of Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, and their immediate neighborhood. The total church membership was something over five hundred.

As the membership of the mission increased and the determination of policies became increasingly a corporate matter, it is less easy to appraise individual contributions to the common cause. One matter, however, in which Greene took a special interest was the working out of a suitable organization for the transaction of mission business. At the beginning of the year 1872, the three men then on the ground — Greene, Gulick, and Davis — adopted a constitution drafted by Greene, which, though comparatively simple, met the requirements of the mission for many years. Important questions of policy were determined in annual meetings of the whole mission, or special meetings called for the transaction of urgent business. As the mission expanded, the calling of special meetings became inconvenient or impracticable; mail votes were resorted to, and finally considerable authority was entrusted to an *ad interim* committee.

Determination of policy on certain matters, especially those involving the expenditure of funds, was naturally subject to approval by the Board in Boston, acting usually through its 'Prudential Committee' which included laymen as well as ministers. That committee in turn was largely influenced by the advice of its foreign secretary who, during the first twenty-five years of Greene's service in Japan, was Dr. N. G. Clark, a personal friend and a kindly, considerate critic of the men on the ground. In general, the actual workers, both in the mission as a whole and in particular stations, were given considerable discretion; and the correspondence of the secretary in Boston was carried on freely with individuals, as well as with the mission as a whole. Individual, as well as corporate, opinion was thus taken into account, a policy which now and then led to complications but on the whole worked well.

In the administration of general mission business, Greene had a large, and at times a burdensome, part. He was naturally the first chairman; and, until 1874, the treasurer also. The latter position involved considerable responsibility in connection with the acquiring and conserving of mission property — often a complicated matter for foreigners. Building operations also had to be looked after and Greene became perforce something of an architect. All these things took time and he felt that he was becoming more of a business man than a missionary. Fortunately he was able in 1874 to resign the treasurership. Meantime he had helped to set standards which met the approval of the Boston office. In that year Clark wrote to the secretary of the mission, acknowledging the minutes of the last mission meeting and adding: 'We are much pleased with the thoroughly *business* way, in which you are doing your work, and with the details to secure this, quite remarkable in so young a mission.'

One aspect of Greene's missionary career which stands out almost continuously from the beginning is his interest in

religious coöperation, and his increasing dissatisfaction with denominational, or otherwise mechanical, conceptions of the Christian movement. Some instances of this attitude have been mentioned in connection with the early services of the Union Church in Kobe. It has been noted also that when the first church was organized in Kobe, a Church of England missionary was invited to take part. It was the Anglican missionaries, American and British, who were the nearest neighbors of the American Board Mission; but for the Congregationalists formal coöperation with this group was less easy than with the more nearly related Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed missionaries of the Yokohama–Tokyo area. It was, therefore, with the latter that church union was first seriously discussed.

Greene's general attitude is clearly brought out in a letter written to Secretary Clark in July, 1872, expressing the desire of the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Congregational workers 'to have a convention of as many of the missionaries as can be got together,' to consider the feasibility of 'some plan of union' to 'avoid some of the many obvious evils resulting from the separation into three bodies of those essentially at one in matters of religious faith. One of the great arguments against Christianity is the multitude of sects into which it is divided, and by some well-considered plan of union, we should increase our strength immeasurably. Please tell us where the breakers lie, and, if possible, how to avoid them, for we are all in the dark. Perhaps it will occur to you that there are insurmountable obstacles in the way, but we trust not.'

Shortly afterwards Greene was asked to represent the mission in arranging for the proposed conference and a 'Convention of Protestant Missionaries of Japan' was duly assembled at Yokohama, remaining in session five days. The only missions formally represented were the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Congregational; but among those pre-

sent by invitation were a Church of England chaplain in Yokohama, and a member of the American Episcopal Mission in China. The attitude of these two Anglican representatives was such as to encourage the hope of fuller coöperation by members of that communion. An impressive communion service was held in which the members of the convention joined with the Japanese Christians, the exercises being conducted both in English and Japanese. 'It was,' Greene wrote, 'an occasion of the most intense interest to us all, and one which we can never forget.'

The most definite practical result of the convention was the appointment of a Bible translation committee which, after some unfortunate delays, began effective work two years later. Of this undertaking, in which Greene was to take a leading part, more will be said later. A joint committee on Christian literature was also appointed. On the subject of church union there was apparently much good will; but also much difference of opinion as to any definite plan. What finally emerged from the discussion, by unanimous vote, was a resolution declaring the unity of the whole church in Christ and asserting that denominational distinctions 'among Protestants,' though 'but accidents,' did actually obscure 'the oneness of the church in Christendom and much more in Pagan lands.' In order to 'secure uniformity' in the presentation of the gospel, the members agreed to exert their influence, so far as possible, for 'identity of name and organization in the native churches,' 'that name being as catholic as the church of Christ.' The government of each church was to be by its 'ministry and eldership,' 'with the concurrence of the brethren.' The evident purpose was to find common ground between the Presbyterian and Congregational forms of church government.

The new Japanese churches at Yokohama and Tokyo were organized in harmony with the plan of the convention; and, in 1874, a similar course was taken with the congregations in

Kobe and Osaka under the auspices of the American Board. The Japanese Christians of Tokyo and Yokohama made a moving appeal to their foreign friends, which illustrates their attitude on this whole problem of church union: 'In all sincerity, then, we ask of you, the foreign missionaries and believers in the holy doctrines of Jesus, that in the name of the Lord Jesus alone, and taking the Bible as the rule of conduct, without regarding your sects, or harboring malice among yourselves, but working amicably, you would pity this our weak little church . . . and exert your strength so as soon to bring the whole people of this land under the grace of the salvation and redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Greene's interest in the movement continued, though with increasing realization of the difficulties in the way. In 1874, he was active in plans for another conference like that of 1872 and was one of the delegates of his mission for that purpose. A few days later, he signed with representatives of the American and Scottish Presbyterians and the Dutch Reformed missions, a document endorsing the general principles laid down in 1872 and proposing future annual conventions of the missionaries with representatives of the Japanese Christians. A little later, he defended certain concessions to the Presbyterians and pointed out that, though it was comparatively easy for men to agree on union in principle, 'almost everybody wants to bring it about by absorbing all other denominations in his own.' There were vigorous sectarians in all the missions and the attitude of Board officials at home was often more critical than sympathetic. So it came about that the Presbyterian groups soon proceeded to organize presbyteries and the churches affiliated with the American Board maintained a distinctly Congregational polity.

Though the results of this early union movement were disappointing, one important form of coöperation was actually realized through the formation of a joint committee for the translation of the Bible into Japanese. This was a subject in

which Greene was particularly interested. Though recognizing the value of the work already done by individual translators, particularly by Hepburn, he believed that adequate results only could be secured through coöperation; and, within two years after his arrival in Japan he was thinking quite definitely of his own possible contribution to this common enterprise. In 1872, he and his colleagues urged the Boston office to take up with the American Bible Society the appointment of 'a committee for the translation of the Scriptures into the Japanese language, which shall comprise representatives of all the branches of Christ's Kingdom now at work in Japan.' Shortly afterward the Yokohama Convention voted to organize a committee consisting of 'one member from each mission desirous of coöperating in this work.' The three missions participating in the convention immediately named their representatives: S. R. Brown for the Dutch Reformed mission; Hepburn, for the Presbyterians; and Greene for the American Board. Invitations to join in making up the committee were also to be sent to Father Nicolai of the Russian Orthodox Church, and to the American and English Episcopal missions. The committee, as originally conceived, was not only to engage directly in the work of translation but to pass upon texts prepared outside of the committee, which might be presented for this purpose. Furthermore, their own work was to be submitted to the several missions for criticism. Finally, the action of the convention was to be reported to the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society with a view to securing their coöperation.

Commenting on his appointment to the Translation Committee, Greene wrote characteristically: 'I feel myself incompetent in every way for a work of such importance, yet at the same time I do not feel at liberty to decline the appointment. As a critic of Japanese style my opinion will not be of much account for some time to come, but in other departments of

the work I may perhaps be able to assist my colleagues to some degree even from the first.' He was anxious for an early decision, for, if he undertook the new work, his programme of study would have to be shaped accordingly. Since a majority of the new committee lived in Yokohama, his transfer to that city seemed highly desirable, if not necessary; it was accordingly recommended by the mission.

It was some time, however, before the necessary steps were taken in America. The Boston office was reluctant to give up its most experienced missionary to the translation work, but was prepared to acquiesce. The chief difficulties came from other quarters. At a conference of mission secretaries held in New York early in 1873, objections were made to the committee method, as distinguished from the enlistment of individual workers with some provision for subsequent revision or criticism. One objector, thinking apparently of Greene, considered it 'unwise to commit such work to young men.' It would seem also that one or more of the older men had misgivings about the committee plan in general and Greene in particular. For one reason or another, the American Bible Society postponed action for several months, and Clark suggested that, if that organization would not act, the matter might be taken up with the British and Foreign Bible Society. Greene thought that his withdrawal might simplify the situation; but his immediate colleagues felt that he had a special contribution to make and should be released from other work. One of them, for instance, criticized the existing Yokohama translations as quite inadequate 'for use among the masses'; a translator was needed whose use of the language had come from 'mingling with the people.' Finally all difficulties were adjusted, the other members of the committee urged Greene to proceed to Yokohama, and in April, 1874, the mission definitely authorized the transfer.

Both Greene and his wife left the Kobe station with genuine regret. Here their three older children were born. In

their simple but attractive home on the hillside overlooking the bay, they had welcomed one after another the new recruits who had crossed the Pacific to join the mission and with whom they had shared the anxieties and achievements of the pioneer days. Here, too, they had gathered about them a friendly group of Japanese. Yet, after all, the first chapter in Greene's missionary career had been fairly rounded out through the organization of the Kobe church, the model on which the later churches of this communion were largely formed. So he was able to turn with fresh interest to the new work at Yokohama.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BIBLE IN JAPANESE

During his six years in Yokohama, Greene's primary concern was the task assigned to himself and a small group of colleagues, of putting the New Testament into the Japanese language.

The committee as originally constituted included beside himself only two members, Messrs. Brown and Hepburn. The convention of 1872 had, however, invited, and hoped for, the coöperation of other missionary groups, including such organizations as the Anglican Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Russian Orthodox Church. A representative of the former society was welcomed as a member at one meeting but did not participate in later sessions. On one disputed point, the proper rendering of the Greek words relating to baptism, a kind of referendum was taken among the members of the various missions and one of those who gave his vote was Bishop Nicolai, of the Russian Orthodox Church. When, however, the committee organized for work, March 25, 1874, the only persons present were the original three members and Dr. R. S. Maclay, of the Methodist Mission. Three days later they were joined by Dr. Nathan Brown, of the American Baptist Mission.

The amount of actual service contributed by individual members varied considerably. Dr. Nathan Brown of the Baptist American Mission sat for about two years; but, though an industrious worker, with experience as a translator in Assam, he could contribute little to this new undertaking. He was nearly sixty-five when he came to Japan and had been there only about a year when he joined the committee. As Greene said several years later, Brown's Japanese career

began 'too late in life to accomplish much beyond giving us all a splendid example of indefatigable industry.' With all his handicaps he undertook and carried through, with the help of a Japanese associate, an independent popular version of the New Testament, done 'better than any one could have expected,' but not in a way to give it permanent value. In 1876 he withdrew from the committee altogether in order to concentrate on his own individual enterprise. Dr. Maclay's attendance also was seriously interfered with by other duties. The result was that the committee's work had to be done mainly by the three men originally selected — S. R. Brown, Hepburn, and Greene.

Samuel Robbins Brown, the chairman of the committee, was a veteran of varied experience. A New-Englander by birth and a Yale graduate in the class of 1832, he received his theological training partly in South Carolina and partly in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Brown's Far-Eastern career began as a teacher of English to Chinese boys first at Macao and then at Hongkong. In that service, from 1839 to 1847, he lived through one of the most important epochs in the history of China's intercourse with the Western powers. It was the period of the first Anglo-Chinese War, of the first treaties made by China with the Western powers, of the British occupation of Hongkong, and of the inauguration of the 'treaty-port' system. As a teacher, Brown impressed himself strongly upon his Chinese pupils, some of whom became men of distinction; and he acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language of which he was afterwards able to make effective use in Japan.

In 1847, ill-health in his family led Brown to return to the United States where, during the fifties, he was busily occupied as a teacher and as pastor of a Dutch Reformed Church in central New York. In 1859, however, he was sent to Japan as one of the first three members of the Dutch Reformed Mission. Handicapped like Hepburn and Verbeck by the

edicts against Christianity, he occupied himself largely with teaching — partly in the Government service — and with his own linguistic studies. Sir Ernest Satow, then an *attaché* of the British legation and soon to become one of the chief foreign experts in the Japanese language, has acknowledged his obligations to Dr. Brown both for linguistic instruction and for the awakening of an interest in Japanese literature. Several years before the organization of the committee, Brown tried his hand on the translation of the Gospels into Japanese, and though his own first manuscripts were destroyed by fire, he collaborated with Hepburn in the translations of Mark, John, and Matthew which were published in 1872 and 1873.

Brown was nearly sixty-four when the regular committee sessions began in 1874, and nearly seventy when he withdrew in 1879. Even before that he was seriously handicapped by failing health. Of the translations prepared by individual members, subject to revision by the committee as a whole, he contributed four books — the Acts, the Epistles to the Philippians and Philemon, and the Book of Revelation. Though Greene's training and point of view were different from those of his older colleague, he had a genuine respect for Brown's scholarship and regretted his withdrawal, a few months before the work was finished.

Dr. Hepburn, the second member of the committee and its chairman when Dr. Brown was not present, brought to the work the prestige of his Anglo-Japanese dictionary and his already considerable achievement in the translation of three of the Gospels. Though nearly sixty years old and not robust in the ordinary sense, he had a remarkable capacity for sustained hard work. In the preparation of the preliminary translations, which became the basis for the committee discussions, Hepburn's contribution was much larger than those of the other members combined, about three fourths of the whole. Notwithstanding his well-earned distinction, he was

essentially, as Greene said many years later, 'modest almost to the point of diffidence,' though able on occasion to express his convictions 'with earnestness and vigor.'

In specific training for the interpretation of the Greek original, Hepburn was at a disadvantage; for his professional education had been that of a physician rather than a theologian or a philologist. Greene felt also that Hepburn's knowledge of Japanese had serious limitations, especially when not checked by consultation with others. He lacked 'a scientific acquaintance with the grammar of either the Japanese or the Greek language'; and, on the other hand, he had 'not mingled with the people enough to know what kind of language is readily understood by the lower classes.' It seemed to Greene also that his older colleague was disposed to translate more rapidly than was consistent with the best results.

Greene's personal contribution to the work of the committee is not easily measured. As secretary and treasurer he had the main responsibility for correspondence and for routine business. The material actually translated by him in the first instance was considerably less than that furnished by either Hepburn or Brown; it seems to have been limited to Colossians and the three epistles of Saint John. His work was primarily that of criticism and revision after the preliminary drafts had been submitted. He had begun this work at Kobe, in the autumn of 1873, with the revision of Hepburn's manuscript of Saint Luke; but from the spring of 1874, a large part of his contribution was made in general committee sessions and in a subcommittee, of which Hepburn and himself were the sole members, to revise the earlier translations of Matthew, Mark, and John.

Greene was conscious of his own limitations as a translator and at first felt that his 'lack of preparation' was 'a serious drag' upon his colleagues. Nevertheless he could supply some things which his seniors lacked. His linguistic training was superior to that of most missionaries and he knew something

about the recent literature of New Testament exegesis. He had besides a relatively good knowledge of colloquial Japanese, and was fortunate in having brought up with him from Kobe an exceptionally good Japanese teacher. Finally, he had strong and definite convictions as to the kind of Japanese style required. In a letter, written midway in the progress of the committee's work, he spoke of the 'Mandarin version' of the Chinese Bible as 'very near my ideal of a missionary translation.' The men who made it 'were not ashamed to confess themselves unable to twist the Chinese language to suit the Greek idiom.' 'My purpose,' he wrote, 'is to do all in my power to secure to the Japanese a thoroughly intelligible version of the Scriptures sacrificing whenever it is necessary the form to the thought.'

For the achievement of an adequate style, the foreign members of the committee obviously had to rely mainly on their Japanese associates. In Greene's opinion, the defects of Hepburn's early translations had been due largely to the lack of thoroughly competent Japanese assistance. One illustration of what was likely to happen in such circumstances was an early translation of the Golden Rule which transformed it into a very different maxim: 'Whatever things you think men do to you, do ye the same to them.' The Japanese who worked with the committee differed widely in the extent and quality of their service. In 1880, when the work was completed, Dr. Hepburn named four Japanese who had participated. Of these four men, Okuno had worked with Hepburn in the preparation of his early versions of the gospels and was the first Japanese secretary of the committee, but he withdrew at an early stage. A man of greater reputation as a scholar was Takahashi Goro, who also worked with the translators of the Rōman Catholic version. It seems to be generally agreed, however, that the chief Japanese contributor was Matsuyama Takayoshi, Greene's Kobe teacher who had followed him to Yokohama in 1874.

Greene had great confidence in Matsuyama from the beginning and took increasing satisfaction in the recognition which came to his Japanese friend. Believing that the Japanese point of view should be vigorously presented, he advised Matsuyama not to yield to any foreigner on idiomatic questions. When the revision of the Gospel of Luke was approaching completion in the autumn of 1874, Greene did not wholly approve of it, but thought this first result of the committee procedure would be generally regarded as 'a great improvement on its predecessors.' The credit was, he believed, due largely to his teacher. Already he was able to report that Hepburn regarded Matsuyama as 'the best teacher he ever met.' Hepburn's later judgment was equally favorable. When the work was complete he said of Matsuyama: 'He has been with the committee from the first and throughout the whole work. He has been our chief dependence, assistant, and arbiter in all cases of difficulty, whatever virtue there was in the Japanese text was, Hepburn declared, largely due to Matsuyama's scholarly ability and loyal service.

Of interest also is Hepburn's mature judgment as to the inevitable limitations of the foreign translator: 'It may fairly be said that there is no foreigner in this country, that has such a knowledge of the language as to qualify him alone to bring out an idiomatic and good translation without the aid of a native scholar, and the literary merit of a translation will depend principally upon the ability and scholarship of the native assistant.' In line with this view was the resolution of the committee urging that its members should be supplied by the Bible Society with the best possible Japanese advisers, even if the compensation had to be considerably higher than that ordinarily paid to language teachers. Interesting also in this connection is the rule of the committee that the translation as agreed upon each day should be read before the close of the session by the Japanese secretary.

The procedure of the committee was definitely outlined at

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its first formal meeting. Three members were made a quorum and for a considerable part of the time only three members were present. In general, a majority vote was to be decisive but there were some exceptions; one rule was intended to limit departures from the *Textus Receptus*, or accepted Greek text, which was 'to be taken as the basis of all translations, only to be departed from by the unanimous consent of the members of the committee, in cases where modern criticism has clearly proved the corruption of the text.'

The time given to the general sessions varied. The original rule called for four afternoon sessions a week of three hours each, which were regularly held in the house of the chairman. There were also conferences with Japanese associates; and, as already noted, the revision of three of the Gospels was entrusted to a subcommittee consisting of Hepburn and Greene. About three months after this subcommittee was appointed in May, 1876, Greene wrote that he had been forced to give up all 'private study' and was in committee for 'five and a half hours four days each week.' He had been himself a strong advocate of working things out in committee; but progress was necessarily slow, depending very much on the character of the preliminary draft. The deliberation with which the committee moved, especially during the first year, is illustrated by the revision of Hepburn's draft of Luke which was taken up in March, 1874, but not completed and turned over to the printing committee until January of the following year.

Some thought the committee too deliberate and Greene observed that the enforcement of an existing rule limiting debate on any given point would enable the committee to 'get on twice as fast, but what can I do? Dr. S. R. B. is 66 years old and I am 33. Dr. H. is 61.' Impatient as the junior member was at times, he was unwilling to sacrifice accuracy to speed. 'I may be wrong but it seems to be quite clear that it is best to go as slowly as we have done the past year rather

than send out more translations like the three gospels we are now trying to revise.' In June, 1875, the committee tried to speed up the work by inviting the coöperation of other missionaries in preparing texts for revision and approval; but, so far as the New Testament was concerned, this had little or no effect. On the other hand, the plan of referring the revision of Matthew, Mark, and John to the Hepburn-Greene subcommittee proved effective both in accelerating the work and in bringing these two men to a closer mutual understanding, though both had occasion to exercise the virtue of forbearance.

The problems confronting the committee were varied and difficult. There was, first, the question of getting the specific Japanese words most nearly equivalent to the Greek text. This sometimes led to long discussion, though in most instances no doctrinal issues seem to have been involved. The most notable instance of division on doctrinal lines occurred in the case of the Greek word, Βαπτιζω and cognate words referring to the rite of baptism. In this question Nathan Brown as a Baptist had a peculiar interest. In July, 1874, he read a paper stating his objections to the Japanese word used and it was subsequently agreed to submit to the various missions concerned the question whether the Greek words in dispute should be translated, or simply transliterated into the Japanese characters. The referendum resulted in a decisive majority in favor of the latter course. Greene and all his colleagues in the American Board Mission voted with the majority, leaving doctrinal partisans free to interpret the Greek words as they might think proper.

Important as textual details often were for an accurate reading of the Greek, Greene was also keenly interested in putting the Bible into a kind of Japanese which could be read, without too much difficulty, not only by the scholar but by the average man. In a large sense, this was the problem which confronted Luther, in his efforts to make his German Bible

intelligible to the people at large, and later the English translators of the King James Version. But the problem of the translators of 1874 was more complicated and difficult than that of their European predecessors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

To begin with, the American members of the Yokohama committee had to translate from a foreign language, not into their own vernacular, but into another foreign language with whose idioms the best of them were quite imperfectly acquainted. Meantime their Japanese collaborators had but a very imperfect acquaintance with European languages of any kind; the ablest of them knew very little English. Furthermore, the whole Christian terminology had until recently been quite outside the range of their consciousness. The task, therefore, of reaching a common understanding between these two groups of workers was one of extraordinary difficulty.

Over and above these problems which have troubled missionary translators in all non-European countries, there were unique difficulties arising, first, from the peculiar relations of the Japanese and Chinese languages; and, secondly, from the marked changes then taking place in the Japanese language itself, as the result of closer contact with the Western world.

To understand the Japanese written language, as distinguished from colloquial speech, one must remember not only that Japanese culture is largely based on that of China, but that the written language in which that culture had found expression is of Chinese origin. So every educated Japanese had to know his Chinese characters. In part, these characters were used simply as the visible signs of Japanese spoken words; but to a large extent the actual Chinese words were also taken over and embedded in a language whose grammatical structure was and continued to be radically different.

At first the written literature of Japan was made up chiefly of reproductions of Chinese classics or of Japanese imita-

tions of Chinese literature, somewhat as the medieval scholars of Western Europe drew upon the Latin classics. Gradually, however, there developed beside the literature of the scholars, a really Japanese kind of writing. 'From that time forward,' to use the language of a competent authority, 'the literary stream has never ceased. It has flowed in a double channel — that of books in the native language, and that of books written in Classical Chinese,' the Chinese being preferred for serious subjects like law or history, and the 'Japanese for poetry, romance, and other branches of *belles-lettres*.' In both kinds of literature, however, whether strictly Chinese or in the Japanese language, the Chinese characters were used.

There is, however, another system of writing, called the *Kana*, which, though based on the phonetic values of certain Chinese characters, is in a sense distinctly Japanese. The *Kana*, unlike the Chinese characters, which represent ideas or words as such, has characters representing the syllabic sounds which enter into the spoken words. Scholars dealing with serious subjects have always regarded the *Kana*, in either of its two forms, as quite inadequate. Consequently Japanese books were written 'in a mixture of Chinese characters and *Kana* of one kind or another, the Chinese characters being employed for the chief ideas, for nouns and the stems of verbs, while the *Kana* serves to transcribe the particles and terminations.' If to these complications are added other variations which cannot be gone into here, one may agree with Basil Chamberlain, a recognized authority, that the whole constitutes 'the most complicated and uncertain system of writing under which poor humanity has ever groaned.'

So the matter stood, at the close of the era of seclusion. Under the new conditions of foreign intercourse, the development of political institutions partly on Western models, the need of more attention to public opinion outside of the old ruling classes, the coming in of Western inventions and prac-

tices requiring the use of terms for which no equivalents existed in the old vocabulary — all these influences combined to complicate still further the linguistic situation. New words were inevitably brought into the language — partly from European sources, especially the English, and still more by adaptations of Chinese characters, somewhat as Western science has drawn upon Greek for its new terminology. New modes of thinking also had a certain effect on forms of expression. Most important of all, perhaps, was the fact that all who wished to influence public opinion for any purpose — political, religious, or educational — were increasingly anxious to make their ideas intelligible to large numbers of people, not merely to the scholarly few.

The bearing of these facts on the work of translation is obvious. Many of the Japanese leaders in the Christian movement were *samurai* of the old school, trained in the classical tradition and anxious to win the respect of those who shared that tradition. That was, in itself, a natural and legitimate desire; it was shared also by some of the foreigners. It was certain, however, that a translation dominated by this spirit and written in the 'high Chinese' style, with a liberal use of Chinese characters, would be almost unintelligible to a large proportion of the people. Here was a perplexing, almost insoluble, problem.

Greene's convictions were strongly on the side of a popular, and, from his point of view, a genuinely Japanese, version as distinguished from one corrupted by foreign idioms, whether Chinese or European. Quite characteristically, also, he studied this translation problem, not as an isolated issue, but in its relation to the whole modern development in literature and in education. He noted, for instance, the rapid rise of a new vernacular press. As early as 1873, he described, as 'one of the most important events of the year,' the appearance of a new daily paper in Tokyo, the first printed in *Hirakana*, one of the two forms of the Japanese syllabary. It was the

only newspaper that 'people in general' could read and could, he thought, 'hardly help being very popular.' Five years later, he observed that newspapers and books, of the kind most widely circulated among the masses, were offering material in the *Kana*, whose 'vocabulary and grammatical construction' were 'essentially those of the colloquial.' This kind of publication was, he thought, 'familiar to perhaps seven-eighths of the people.' He contrasted, for instance, two representative papers in Tokyo. One, representing the orthodox cultural tradition, had a circulation of about 10,000; the journal using more colloquial language had three times that number.

Greene's views on the general linguistic situation in the later seventies are probably best set forth in a letter of thirteen closely written pages to David Murray, then the chief foreign adviser of the Japanese Department of Education. In this he dissented vigorously from the Government programme of language instruction. He recognized, of course, the difficulties resulting from the attitude of the scholar class as a whole. The *literati* were sure that what Greene called 'the mongrel Chino-Japanese style of writing' was 'the only one available for the expression of the higher forms of thought,' an opinion 'so thoroughly fixed, that no reformer less efficient than time will be able to do very much in uprooting it.' Nevertheless, he argued that something might, even then, be done for the common people, to the great mass of whom this literature of the traditional type, whether historical or philosophical, 'is practically a sealed book.'

Notwithstanding the stress laid on Chinese characters in the public schools, Greene pointed out that only a small fraction of the pupils advanced beyond the intermediate grade and even those who finished the course could not be expected to read Government proclamations or the better class of newspapers. Busy farmers and mechanics could not even keep the stock of characters which they had learned in the schools.

He illustrated the situation by the experience of a Japanese preacher, visiting a town of some ten thousand inhabitants on the Tokaido road, who was urged by the people to read and interpret the Government proclamations for them, since there were only two men in the town who had the necessary education.

Under these circumstances, he urged that the Government should give more recognition to the language of popular literature. Admitting that the Japanese vocabulary was too restricted, he suggested that new words might be incorporated from Western languages or by the combination of old Japanese words. Something might be done officially to encourage the use of the *Kana*, rather than the Chinese characters, by employing it on the guide-boards. Another kind of appeal could, he thought, be made to cultivated people. 'If,' he wrote, 'more attention could be given to the study of the old Japanese classics — the pure Japanese literature, it would serve to break down the prejudice against the more popular style of language and to convince the scholars of the capabilities of their mother tongue.' All this did not imply the elimination of the Chinese character from school instruction, but simply its subordination, in the elementary schools, to the *Kana* syllabary.

Finally, Greene made his appeal to the history of European vernacular literature. 'If I read the history of language aright, it gives reason to believe that this despised dialect of the people is yet to be the language of the highest and best literature of Japan and even though the ruling class may not now see the importance of providing a useful literature for the common people, the people will at no very distant date force their language on the ruling classes. The word of God which Dante heard "speaking in the new tongues of the nations" will yet find some appreciative listener in Japan, who will do for the true Japanese, much what Dante and Petrarch did for Italian.' To illustrate some of the influences

at work, he pointed out the need of the preacher — Buddhist as well as Christian — and of the politician under the new forms of representative government, for a language popularly understood. 'The two vocabularies, spoken and written, must very nearly coincide in these two great departments, religion and politics.'

Notwithstanding his vigorous stand against the excessive influence of the Chinese tradition, Greene was himself a serious student of the Chinese written language. In the midst of his work on the Translation Committee, he published, with Matsuyama a so-called *Kunten* edition of the Chinese New Testament for Japanese readers, in which the Chinese characters were used 'with Japanese connectives.' By the insertion of certain marks indicating 'the Japanese order of thought,' the book became 'substantially a translation into Japanese.' His scientific interest in the whole question of the use of the Chinese character in Japanese is illustrated by his inquiry in the same year as to the possibility of using the American Bible Society's allowance for 'teacher's salary,' in having an investigation made of the Chinese characters most generally used in three or four prominent newspapers. Such an investigation would help to prevent waste of time in learning characters which are 'infrequently met with in one's general reading.' In 1879, when the work of the Translation Committee was nearly finished, he was still going on with his own Chinese studies.

In his theory of translation, Greene had the cordial support of his own mission group. One of them observed in 1878 that most of the Japanese scholars were against them on this issue, together with the common-school system, and even many of the missionaries who feared that, 'if the Scriptures are prepared in the vernacular, the scholars will not read them and will despise them and the Christianity which they teach.' Nevertheless, this colleague wrote, 'our mission is almost a unit on this question.'

The general policy was set in the translation of the Gospel of Luke, which was published in 1875 and may be described as a compromise between two extreme positions. It was clearly impossible to dispense with the Chinese characters, and as the work went on Greene found himself occupied in 'superintending the introduction of additional Chinese characters which the depraved taste of the Japanese seems to demand.' At the same time, he pointed out that this multiplication of the Chinese characters did not change the style of the translation. The phonetic Japanese characters would 'all be there,' and if the printing were well done, a reader ignorant of Chinese, 'if his eyes are true enough, can get along fairly well in spite of the inconvenience forced upon him by the wretched custom which his more learned brethren insist upon as necessary.'

As to the style of these first installments, a comment by Dr. M. L. Gordon, one of the most scholarly members of the Japan mission, is of interest, especially his reference to the committee's use of the language employed in the old-time Japanese literature: 'Both its simplicity and its antiquity are well suited to Biblical thought. Japanese have said they [the translation committee] were translating into a "dead language"; but it was untrue. I think that as Christian sentiment becomes more and more a power in Japan, it will more and more approve the course of the committee, though there may be exceptions in respect to specific terms.'

The final result, so far as the New Testament translation is concerned, which in turn largely determined the policy of the subsequent Old Testament Committee, was effectively summed up by Dr. Hepburn at a meeting held in 1880 to celebrate the completion of the first committee's work: 'In this country, where, from the earliest times, the Chinese language and literature has had such a powerful influence upon the cultivation and language of the people, it was, at the very first, a matter of considerable anxiety in what literary style

our work should be brought out to make it most acceptable and useful. The conclusion was not difficult to arrive at; that avoiding on one hand the *quasi*-Chinese style, only intelligible to the highly educated, scholarly, and comparatively very small portion of the people; and on the other hand a vulgar colloquial, which, though easily understood, might make the Scriptures contemptible; we should choose that style which, while respected even by the so called *literati*, was easy and intelligible to all classes. We thus adhered to the vernacular or pure Japanese, and to a style which may be called classical, in which many of their best books intended for the common reader are written, and our more enlarged experience has given us no reason to regret our first determination, but rather to be more and more satisfied with it, and to believe that in this, as well as in many other matters, we have been under the guidance of a kind and all-ruling Providence.'

Recognizing the necessity of practical adjustments in the authorized version of the New Testament, Greene tested his more radical theories through the preparation and issue of a *Kana* translation of the 'Sermon on the Mount' and then a similar edition of the whole Gospel of Matthew, 'with the Chinese character at the side and subordinated to the phonetic characters,' or *Kana*. Of the former, he wrote in 1877, that it had its enemies and its friends, 'both outspoken.' In certain quarters it was regarded 'as pretty sure proof that I am a fanatic, if not ignorant.' As to the '*Kana Matthew*,' he expected that it would be 'much spoken against,' and it might prove a failure; 'but I am still hopeful — more so than my colleagues are.' He was much encouraged by a carpenter to whom he showed the proof of this text, along with a popular newspaper in which the *Kana* was 'subordinated to the Chinese character.' The carpenter declared that the former was much easier. A little later he urged upon the American Bible Society the 'speedy publication' of the entire New

Testament on the style of the '*Kana Matthew*' believing that it was 'sure of a ready sale.' This proposal, though favorably received by officers of the Society, was not carried into effect. In all this, he was thinking, not merely in terms of his own immediate problem, but in the hope that it might help 'toward hastening the introduction of a phonetic system of writing in the general literature of the country. . . . I know many of the scholars and *samurai* condemn it, but I happen to know that many people who do not know Chinese are pleased with the clear type and division into words.'

A proper appraisal of such work as that of the Translation Committee is obviously difficult; but a few facts may be noted as suggestive. In 1878, when the work of the Yokohama Committee was sufficiently advanced to indicate the principles on which it was based, they were formally approved by a convention of representatives from the various Protestant missions, which not only expressed appreciation of what had been done but also voted that 'the general style of translation of the Old Testament should be so far assimilated to that of the New Testament, that when the whole Bible is completed, it shall present a uniformity in this respect corresponding to that of the Authorized English version.' A permanent committee was accordingly formed on the 'Translation, Revision, Publication and Preservation of the Text of the Holy Scriptures,' with instructions to proceed, on the lines indicated, with the translation of the Old Testament. The chairman was Dr. Hepburn, and Greene was one of five members of the 'Revision Committee.'

Though other duties prevented Greene from engaging actively in the work of the Old Testament Committee, he was for a time strongly urged to do so. In April, 1881, Dr. Luther H. Gulick, the Bible Society Agent in Japan, wrote that there were, so far as he knew, 'only two men' who could 'to advantage be secured' to devote themselves 'entirely or in part' to this work. These, in his opinion, were Verbeck and Greene.

He added: 'It will be a loss to the cause if Dr. Greene should not be secured.' In the same year, Greene received a notable tribute from the Dutch Reformed Mission, which resolved that his 'important share in the translation of the New Testament' pointed him out 'especially as the man who ought to be a member of the Permanent Committee on the translation of the Old Testament.' His own mission was, therefore, urged to consent to his assignment to this service, 'for which his scholarship, his experience in the work of translation, and the confidence which his brethren in the mission work repose in him, so justly qualify him.' Of some interest in view of this resolution is the recognition he received from an American institution connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, which had already attracted a number of Japanese students. In 1879, Rutgers College gave him the degree of D.D., his first honorary degree.

No one recognized more clearly than Greene himself the necessarily provisional character of his own work; but it is significant that when, thirty years after the completion of the older version of the New Testament, a committee was formed to revise it, Greene was made its chairman, and that the only other member of the original committee who served on the new one was his old friend and Japanese teacher, Matsuyama. In the discussion which preceded the formation of the new committee, Bishop Fyson of the Anglican Church, speaking for a mission not represented in the Yokohama group emphasized the excellence of the original translation 'so long counted worthy to stand as the foundation of the Christian faith and hope of many thousands of Christians in this empire.' Fyson added that, though he had refrained from mentioning individual names, 'I may be allowed to make one exception, and say, that if a revision is to be made at all we shall be wise to begin whilst Dr. D. C. Greene is still with us and in his prime.' In particular, Fyson declared that, though there was obvious need of revision at many points,

使徒ヨハヲ第一書

第一章

そを我儕ゞ聞また目ゐ見懇切ゐ覩ゐ〻ゑ手捫りし所れ者即ち元始
より在し生命れ道と爾曹ゐ傳ふ二ゐれ生命すでゐ顯れたれた我儕みをと
見て證とゐそ即ち原父と偕ゐ在し者ゐて我儕ゐ顯をたる窮みき所れ此生
命と爾曹よ傳ふ三〻をら見しところ聞し所と爾曹ゐ傳るい爾曹と我儕と
同心ならしめん爲ゐり我儕い父ゐよび其子イエスキリストと同心たり四
我儕ゐれ書とのき贈て爾曹れ喜樂と充しめんとそ五神い光ゐり少の暗處
ゐし此れ我儕彼より聞て亦なんぢらゐ傳る告ゐり六若〻をら神と同心ゐ
りと言て暗と行のバ我儕ゐ言とゐろい謊ゐして眞理と行ふゐ非ず七若神
れ光ゐ在ゐ如く光れ中と行のバ我儕互ゐ同心とゐるを得のり其子イエス
キリストれ血すべて罪より我儕と潔む八もし罪なしと言バ是をづるら欺
けるゐて眞理〻をらゐ在ゐし九もし己れ罪と認いさバ神い信實ゐる公義
者ゐるゞ故ゐ必ず我儕の罪と赦し諸れ不義より我儕と潔むべし十もし罪

A PAGE OF THE JAPANESE NEW TESTAMENT
REVISED EDITION, 1880
First page of the First Epistle of Saint John

there had been surprisingly little criticism of the Japanese style.

On the general question how far the character of the translation has commended itself to the Japanese, there is some interesting testimony. In the early nineties, a professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo expressed his opinion that the Japanese version of the Bible stood out as one of the three really adequate translations so far made from European languages into Japanese. In 1900, Bishop Fyson reported the results of an inquiry made by circular letter as to the need of revising the standard version. The inquiry was addressed both to foreigners and representative Japanese associated with the various missions. About half of the fifty to whom the letter was addressed replied and a majority of these were in favor of early revision, making various suggestions; several of them thought that the Chinese characters used were unnecessarily difficult. So far as the general question of Japanese style was concerned, the opinion of this group of Japanese critics was distinctly favorable to the older version. Fyson, who himself favored early revision, reported that he had been 'considerably surprised' to find that his Japanese correspondents had 'almost without exception declared themselves well satisfied with the present style of translation. One competent scholar thinks the style about as near perfection as can be, and the verdict in every case but one — and even that is a doubtful one — has been that no change is needed in this respect.' The writer of 'one of the most thoughtful' of the Japanese replies written in 'excellent English' 'went so far as to affirm that it is perhaps the best one among all kinds of translations ever made into Japanese.' Again, when the revision was undertaken, the committee in charge asked the advice of non-Christian writers, on the question of style; and one of the members, Mr. Matsuyama, was surprised to find so little adverse criticism of the older version. Professor Ukita, of the Waseda University, in a recent conversation,

observing that the revision when carried through had not involved radical changes, expressed his opinion that the older version was superior in point of language and style.

Other interesting, but difficult, questions relate to the influence of the Japanese Bible on the language and literature of the people. No adequate answers to these questions can be given here; but again some interesting facts may be noted. Reference has already been made to appreciations of the Japanese version by non-Christian writers. When it first appeared, its style was attacked in some quarters because of its novelty; but a popular though not unscholarly author, Yano Fumio, who wrote over the *nom-de-plume* of 'Ryukei,' published in a paper called the 'Mei-roku-Zasshi' three articles commending the language of the translators, because they avoided on the one hand an over-Chinese, or archaic Japanese, style, and on the other an unduly colloquial treatment. Sales of the Bible indicate that the circulation and reading of it have not been wholly confined to the Christian population; but its influence has doubtless been largely indirect, through certain representative writers. A good example of this is the case of Mr. Tokutomi, editor and publisher of the 'Kokumin' newspaper of Tokyo, who has himself acknowledged his obligations to Biblical literature and whose style is said to have been definitely influenced by it, a fact of some importance in view of his marked popularity among journalistic writers. A professor in the Imperial University of Kyoto has noted a similar reflection of Biblical influence in recent issues of a popular Osaka newspaper. It is, of course, not to be understood that these influences came wholly through the Japanese version of the Bible; Mr. Tokutomi, for instance, was a devoted admirer of Milton.

It may be said in this connection that there is Japanese authority for the statement that missionary use of the popular language, whether in preaching or writing, was one factor in counteracting undue depreciation of it on the part of the

educated classes, a depreciation comparable with the attitude of some of Frederick the Great's contemporaries toward their own German tongue. A similar policy was adopted in this respect by intellectual leaders like Fukuzawa and by the Buddhist preachers.

Greene's position as secretary of the Translation Committee carried with it some business responsibilities. The Yokohama committee was, at first, mainly dependent upon the American Bible Society of New York and was acting under its auspices; but after the work began, the National Bible Society of Scotland and the British and Foreign Bible Society wished to join in the publication and distribution of the Japanese Bible; and there were some resulting complications. Having little interest in the special prestige of one or another of these organizations, he was able to contribute something toward a fair settlement of the questions at issue, though a definite pooling of the resources of the three societies was not accomplished until 1890. For a time the American Society had no regular agent in charge of its Japanese work, and Greene was charged with some of the duties naturally belonging to such an office. Even after the appointment of a general agent for Japan, the newcomer naturally relied to some extent on Greene's local experience and special knowledge. Though troubled at times by the amount of time and energy required for business details, his active curiosity about the mechanical and financial technique of the publishing business and his human interest in the Japanese with whom he dealt made the work less irksome than it would otherwise have been. Incidentally, too, the experience enlarged his knowledge of Japanese life and thought.

CHAPTER IX

THE MISSIONARY AND THE CHANGING ORDER

THROUGHOUT the period of his service in Yokohama, Greene kept in touch with the general business of the mission. One interesting feature of his life there was the opportunity it gave him to meet missionaries on their way to and from Japan. Both he and his wife appreciated and enjoyed the responsibility which thus came to them of welcoming and, in a measure, initiating the new recruits. The personnel of the mission was rapidly enlarged during these six years and the results seemed to him in the main satisfactory. There were some mistakes, however, and *à propos* of one of them, he sent home a warning: 'At this stage send nobody rather than an inferior man — such are weights which their colleagues are forced to carry, and we want to be as light as possible in our race.' He thought the women were doing excellent work; one of them he mentioned as having made more rapid progress in learning Japanese than any other member of the mission.

Notwithstanding the strenuous debates which took place on questions of policy, Greene believed that the differences were not fundamental, and that mutual good will had been preserved. This seemed to him partly the result of a satisfactory organization. Referring to some mission executive, whose usual advice was, 'Brethren, love one another,' Greene remarked; 'Most excellent advice, but the issue of it is not always evident. No amount of love, without organization, can secure harmony of action in this imperfect world.' The habit of free and full discussion also made for harmony; 'we make it a point to discuss our affairs with great freedom and never to decide a question of importance simply by a majority vote.' He recalled only one exception to this rule. A striking illustration of the tenacity with which the mission

held to the idea of open action and democratic decision occurred in 1879, when Greene and four other senior members were asked by the Boston office to serve as a committee for the disbursement of certain funds. Thereupon he announced, for himself and his four colleagues, that, 'with all deference to the deliberate action of the Prudential Committee,' they declined to accept this commission 'without the advice and approval of the mission.' The mission responded by naming the same men as its own committee with definite instructions.

Though living at a distance from his colleagues, Greene was punctilious about attending their business meetings. Fairly typical of these gatherings and of his part in them is the annual meeting at Osaka in May, 1876. On this occasion, he preached the annual sermon to an audience including, besides his immediate colleagues, invited members of the American Episcopal and English Church missions. Then followed a meeting with the Japanese Christians of the neighborhood, with speeches in Japanese by Greene and others. The minutes show his continued interest in every aspect of the missionary programme. Besides reporting on his own work at Yokohama, he presented for the Committee on Finances the estimates for the following year, and from a special committee a recommendation in favor of continued financial support of the Japanese weekly then published under the auspices of the mission. He and his wife, both much interested in music, were placed on a committee to 'prepare a hymn and tune book.' He was continued as a member of the Committee on Publications and assigned also to special committees on church union and on the question of establishing a girls' school at Kyoto. Other entries show his active interest in the beginnings of the Doshisha training school for young men and in the subject of Christian literature.

An important question of mission policy during this period was that of 'self-support' for the Japanese churches and other religious agencies. In principle, the Board in Boston and the

members of the missions agreed that the Japanese Christians ought, so far as possible, to stand on their own feet financially. In this respect the American Board Mission took a comparatively advanced position. Greene's attitude at this time is shown by a letter, written in 1874, disapproving the action of certain other missions in supporting Japanese candidates for the ministry: 'The idea of receiving foreign money, except for services rendered to foreigners, is repulsive to every noble-minded Japanese.' In the same year the mission went on record against paying money to students except in return for services rendered. Again, in 1877, Greene opposed the raising of money in America for scholarships in the Doshisha. 'The time,' he wrote, 'ought not to be very far off when you will be called upon for nothing beyond the personal expenses of the missionaries.'

Already he was prepared to go far in the direction of self-support: 'I doubt very much whether I shall ever favor another appropriation in aid of our schools, chapel rents, or publication fund.' A possible exception, he thought, might be the temporary payment of salaries to Japanese teachers, in order to avoid a lowering of educational standards. As an illustration of the wisdom of trusting to Japanese initiative, he cited the case of the Naniwa Church in Osaka, whose pastor, Sawayama, had set his congregation an example of thoroughgoing self-sacrifice. This little church of thirteen members was supporting its own pastor, paying the rental of a room for church services, and at the same time pledging itself to contribute a substantial sum for the training school in Kyoto. Commenting especially on this last gift, he urged the importance of developing in the Japanese Christians a proper spirit of responsibility for such common interests. This responsibility they would never feel 'so long as we pay the bills, and I had much rather go slower just now, and lay a secure foundation, than to see go up a structure which needs continual propping.'

Believing in financial independence for the Japanese churches, Greene was also ready to go farther than most missionaries in reducing foreign control of Christian enterprises. Writing in 1877, he noted the progress already made in this direction. The school lately founded at Kyoto was 'in the hands of a Japanese Company.' The school for girls at Kobe and the newspaper founded by the mission were partly in Japanese hands, and no issue of the latter could be put out 'without the consent of the Japanese editor and proprietor.' Some feared that the work of the mission was in danger of 'passing too much into the hands of the Japanese'; but Greene took great satisfaction in being 'able to put responsibility of so many different sorts upon our young Christians.' 'My doctrine,' he added, 'is that men learn most things better by doing them themselves than by looking on and seeing other folks do them, and I think this is especially true of the Japanese.' He believed also that the self-reliance and autonomy of the Japanese Christians would make a favorable impression on the Government. Japanese ownership of property used for religious purposes would bring it under national jurisdiction and so reduce the unpopular claims of foreign agencies to extraterritorial privileges. The mission newspaper should, he thought, be put 'even more fully into the hands of the Japanese than it is now.' 'There is not the slightest chance that our confidence will be abused.'

An interesting by-product of this discussion was its influence on Greene's views of church polity. It seemed to him that some of his associates were pushing the decentralizing theories of Congregationalism too far in the direction of pure independency. He believed, on the contrary, that the success of the churches required effective agencies for coöperation. The argument for Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, with their emphasis on authority, could only be answered by showing the possibility of such coöperation under the Congregational system.

Though a steady advocate of self-support for the Japanese, Greene was not a doctrinaire, and recognized the difficulty of applying the principle in certain cases. He was thus able at times to mediate between radical and conservative elements in the mission. The leader of the radicals was Horace Leavitt, of Osaka, who was much impressed with the danger of pauperizing the Japanese Christians. 'So long,' he argued, 'as there are funds from America for these schools, missionaries and natives are not stirred as they should be to develop the resources of the people and adapt the institutions exactly to their needs and abilities.' The men chiefly responsible for the new educational institution at Kyoto were more conservative. They saw no harm in helping young men of limited means by giving them work, and foreign aid in the form of educational endowments also seemed to them necessary under existing conditions. In short, though accepting the principle of self-support, they favored a more gradual advance toward that ideal.

Greene's sympathies seemed at first to be chiefly with the radicals. In 1877, for instance, he wrote of Leavitt's projects: 'They do not seem to me in the main impracticable.' He realized however, the need of special consideration for the new educational institutions. He was not willing at once to turn the girls' school in Kobe completely over to the Japanese and did not consider its buildings as too good to set before the Japanese 'as a model of what such buildings should be.' He was reluctant also to prescribe rigidly the policies of colleagues dealing with difficult local situations. Acting partly on his advice, the Board and the mission made concessions in the direction of foreign aid which seemed to Leavitt so objectionable as to make the latter's continuance in the mission impracticable. Notwithstanding the withdrawal of its most aggressive defender, the ideal of self-help was not abandoned and as time went on the number of self-sustaining Japanese churches was largely increased.

One of the most significant developments of the later seventies was the founding of the educational institution at Kyoto known as the Doshisha ('Same Purpose Company'), with which Greene was to be intimately associated a few years later. Other members of the mission were more actively concerned with the school at this stage; but it was in line with his ideas and received his vigorous support.

The necessity of an institution which would give young men an adequate training for the Christian ministry, providing not only theological instruction but also a foundation of liberal education, was soon recognized. What brought the whole matter to an issue, however, was the courageous initiative of a young Japanese, Joseph Hardy Neesima, who returned to Japan in 1874 after a stay of nine years in the United States. Through the generous assistance of Alpheus Hardy, a leading Boston merchant interested in the Far Eastern trade, Neesima received a distinctly New England training at Andover Academy, Amherst College, and finally at Andover Theological Seminary. Just before his return he made a moving appeal at the annual meeting of the American Board and about five thousand dollars were subscribed for a Christian college. In 1875, Neesima, now a corresponding member of the mission, presented his views to his foreign colleagues, who voted, on Davis's motion, to establish 'a Collegiate Theological Institute, combining scientific studies with theological, in order to the best training of young men to preach the gospel.' A committee, of which Neesima and Davis were members, was appointed and the enterprise definitely begun. There were difficult questions involving the selection of a site, the legal ownership of property, and the attitude of the Government toward missionary work outside the treaty ports; but the school was opened in the autumn of 1875. In September, 1876, the arrival of a remarkable group of young men whose interest in Christianity had been awakened by Captain Janes, an American teacher in a gov-

ernment institution, gave the new school a distinctive character which it might otherwise have lacked. For the next twenty years, it was the most important missionary institution of higher learning in Japan.

Greene's correspondence shows that he was actively interested in the new institution from the beginning. In March, 1875, he wrote home urging the 'great need of a Christian college' and the importance of prompt action. He pointed out that, as compared with other mission fields, Japan was remarkable for its wide diffusion of general education. The most notable success of the mission so far had been with the educated class, who could not respect an 'intellectually dependent' ministry merely reflecting foreign influence. There were, of course, government schools for general education; but they were not of a kind to encourage young men to enter the Christian ministry. Candidates for such service should go to schools 'whose whole influence' would 'make men hate vice and love virtue,' convincing them that scholarship was not inconsistent with Christian faith. Sending men abroad for such training was, he thought, usually unsatisfactory; they were likely to be 'pampered' and 'sent back unfit for any self-denying missionary work.'

Greene also had distinct ideas as to the nature of the institution. Its endowment should be partly foreign and partly Japanese, sufficiently large 'to make it a more solid and in every way a better institution than any in the country.' The majority of the trustees should be from the mission, but there should also be some Japanese; and though professors should be chosen by the Board, he would not have 'a single missionary on the faculty.' In other words, his preference then was for a plan under which the faculty, whether Japanese or foreign, should be clearly differentiated from the evangelistic group. When the Board objected to the establishment of a college, in addition to a theological school, Greene insisted that the college was essential; to found a school

for preachers only would not only be fatal to the Kyoto enterprise but would seriously impair the general influence of the mission. 'Unless we have such a school we must content ourselves for the present to a great extent with a class who would be as much out of place in this age of educational activity, as a backwoods Methodist preacher of 1800 would be in the Massachusetts pulpits to-day.'

Greene was anxious that the new school should not be an exotic affair, but 'a Japanese institution from the beginning to the end of its curriculum.' English should be one of the subjects taught and might even be used temporarily as the medium of instruction in some departments; but the Japanese language should be 'the foundation of all instruction.' Students should be taught to express themselves in 'a simple but vigorous Japanese,' and to 'despise the stilted unintelligent style of writing now in vogue.'

Of much interest is an early reference to the group of students at the Doshisha, commonly known, from the Kyushu town where they had their earlier training, as the 'Kumamoto Band.' Greene described these young men, now preparing to become Christian preachers, as converts who had already 'endured hardness.' During vacations and at other times, they tried their hands at preaching, 'with varying success, but with great zeal.' Many of them were qualified by scholarship and knowledge of English 'for comfortable, if not lucrative positions under the Government or as interpreters in mercantile houses; but,' he added, 'they declare and their life bears them out in the declaration that their highest ambition is to preach Christ.'

The institution was at first embarrassed by governmental restrictions. The title to the real estate had to be held by Japanese and the mission had no legal claim upon it. The business management and the use of funds in accordance with the wishes of American donors were, therefore, entrusted to the discretion of the Japanese company (the Doshisha).

This was, Greene believed, a reasonable expression of confidence in the good faith of the Japanese managers. 'I am heartily glad,' he wrote, 'that we have been able to put both our newspaper and our school under the control of the Japanese government,' subject, that is, to its jurisdiction.

A second consequence of establishing the school in Kyoto, outside of any foreign concession, was the acceptance of certain limitations on religious teaching. The understanding between Neesima and the Government was 'that the Bible should not be taught in the Doshisha school until the Government should formally consent'; but that he and his associates 'might teach what they chose in private houses.' Since the object of the school was quite definitely known to be that of promoting Christian education, it was thought that the primary reason for the restriction of religious teaching was to forestall criticism of the Government by the Buddhist priests, Kyoto being an important Buddhist stronghold. The formal requirement was met by having the strictly Biblical instruction given in a neighboring house, held in Neesima's name. Some members of the mission objected to its assuming responsibility for an institution which it did not legally control. At the same time, the more zealous advocates of 'self-support' objected because the school was established mainly by foreign funds. As one of them said in 1875, 'We have built the school and as a consequence the natives regard it as ours. They cannot build such an institution. . . . But the natives could, and easily too, build such a school as is natural to them.' Greene, however, steadily defended the school against its critics. He agreed that some precautions were necessary to prevent misunderstandings affecting the equitable interests of the mission and the Board; but he thought that any attempt to place the schools 'entirely under foreign influence' would be 'fraught with grave danger to our work.'

Aside from his interest in the general business of the mis-

sion and his primary work as a translator, Greene undertook some direct religious teaching in his own neighborhood. During the early months of his stay in Yokohama, he conducted Japanese services in a rented chapel; but other claims were more pressing, and in 1875 this work was transferred to the Presbyterian Mission. From time to time he took services for his Presbyterian and Methodist friends and was active in the Union Church, which had been formed for the benefit of the foreign community.

Meantime he had to consider a new situation which was developing at Tokyo. The general idea of a rough division of fields among the denominations, in order to avoid duplication and undesirable competition, had so far prevented the American Board Mission from undertaking work at the capital. As a result, however, of the increasing mobility of population, and particularly the coming together in Tokyo of people from all parts of the country, it became increasingly difficult to make allotments on a strictly territorial basis. At first, Japanese Christians of Congregational affiliations who moved to Tokyo were advised to affiliate with churches already existing there; but some of them desired to keep their former associations. Accordingly in December, 1879, Greene helped to organize the first Congregational, or *Kumi-ai* (Associated), church in Tokyo, under the pastorate of a young member of the Kumamoto Band.

Another instance of the difficulty of adhering to territorial allotments occurred at Annaka, Neesima's home town, northwest of Tokyo, where the efforts of another young Kumamoto man had brought together a congregation of nearly fifty persons. Here also Greene assisted in installing a *Kumi-ai* pastor. For these new churches, he naturally felt a more direct responsibility, because of their detachment from the main body of the mission.

Responsibilities of the kind just described carried him, from time to time, into the interior of the country, and these

journeys gave him an insight into Japanese life quite beyond that of the ordinary foreign resident. In 1875, for instance, he decided, instead of going to the summer mission meeting by the short and simple steamer route from Yokohama to Kobe, to take the overland route. In those days, before the coming of the railroad, this meant a journey by *jinrikisha* on the better roads, *kago* (litters) on the rough ones, and a good deal of walking when the cramping *kago* became intolerable. It was something of an adventure, but the Greenes were fond of walking and took it, 'children and all,' with real pleasure. What is now an easy railroad journey of about twelve hours took in this case thirteen days. It should perhaps be added that there were four small children. In 1876, he took another notable journey, with two of his friends, in the region north of Tokyo. The outward journey took them first along the eastern side of the great mountain backbone of the main island, then across the range to the west, and by steamer to Hakodate at the southern end of the island of Yezo. Returning they skirted the west coast; but about a hundred miles before reaching Niigata (another treaty port), they made a long detour through the mountain country. They finally reached Yokohama after an absence of about two months.

These long journeys, taken under the primitive conditions of the pre-railroad era, gave opportunities hardly available now, even for the most conscientious traveler. Traveling for long distances on foot and stopping at country inns, Greene was able to meet and talk with 'all sorts and conditions of men.' On the Hakodate trip just mentioned he did some preaching in provinces where the dialects were considered peculiarly difficult but thought he was able to make the people understand him. He concluded that, though in farming villages a Kyoto or Tokyo man might have difficulty in following the local dialect, 'he would rarely have difficulty in making himself understood.'

One of the most interesting local descriptions to be found

in Greene's correspondence of this period is his account of Annaka, the little town already mentioned. The place is situated about seventy miles from Tokyo on the Nakasendo, the more inland of the two main routes connecting Eastern and Western Japan, and the visit was made in September, 1878, *en route* from Kobe to Yokohama, a journey of fifteen days including two spent at Annaka. This time, too, the adventure was shared by the whole family including five children. The landscape was beautiful, but 'so rough was the road that wheeled vehicles were out of the question for a large part of the way.' Shortly before reaching Annaka, the road came down from the mountains and crossed a more level area, 'one of the finest silk districts in Japan,' where during the summer the people devoted themselves 'almost entirely to feeding silk worms and reeling silk.' He was much interested in the details of manufacture, noting that new machinery, already introduced, was likely to 'increase wonderfully the profit to the producers.' He visited one filature which cost about five thousand dollars — building, machinery, and all — and turned out silk at a rate which, if general, indicated that the 'hand-reeled silk must speedily be run out of the market.'

The account of Greene's reception is a delightful picture of Japanese hospitality in a town which even forty years later had comparatively few foreign visitors. As the family came into town, one of the Japanese Christians introduced himself and escorted the visitors to a pleasant hotel, where 'the church members began to flock in to pay their respects, each one bringing in a piece of paper with his or her name written on it which they presented on being introduced.' The company withdrew considerately at dinner time, but when that was over 'a regular levee began which lasted until nearly dark. Our children entered fully into the spirit of the occasion and did as good missionary work as their parents, as they assisted us to entertain the forty or fifty guests who

filled our rooms. Everything possible was done for our comfort, they even insisted on sending nearly ten miles for fresh milk for the children.' This social gathering was followed by the examination and reception of candidates for church membership — fourteen in all; the next day came additional religious meetings, with the services of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was a self-reliant group, receiving little or no help from the mission beyond the expenses of a theological student who preached to them. On leaving the village, the Greenes found that their hotel charges had been provided for and one of the men was delegated to accompany them to the next town.

Greene's account of the silk industry in and about Annaka is typical of his interest in the whole economic development going on about him. His interest, too, was more than that of an entirely detached observer; there was also a genuine desire to help so far as he could. In 1875, for instance, he was struck by 'the reckless style of fishing' which 'threatens soon to clear the rivers of Japan of some of their most valuable fishes.' Accordingly he wrote home for the reports of the Massachusetts Fish Commission which he proposed to present to the Japanese Government in the hope of getting some remedial action. Two years later, he was studying railway problems. He thought 'the English-built railroads' in Japan were unnecessarily expensive, following too much the practice in England, where iron was comparatively cheap and interest rates low. In Japan, on the contrary, iron was expensive, interest rates high, and steep grades much more common. In order to inform himself on the subject, he asked to have sent him 'a really good work' on narrow-gauge roads: 'This is not exactly in the ordinary line of missionary work, but I am deeply interested in the subject and want to be able to put myself in position to do something to relieve the interior people of an enormously heavy burden.'

In 1879, ten years after his arrival in Japan, Greene re-

viewed at some length the economic changes of his time. In the matter of transportation, he had seen the introduction into general use of the *jinrikisha*, which, however unimpressive from the present-day point of view, had nevertheless greatly facilitated travel both in town and country. The Japanese were no longer exclusively dependent on foreigners for steamship service, but had their own coastwise steamers. There were also seventy-seven miles of railroad in operation. 'A well arranged postal system ensures prompt and safe delivery of letters in all parts of the interior,' and Japanese postage would now take letters 'to the most distant countries.' Telegraphic lines had been rapidly extended until in 1879 they connected 'all the principal towns with the metropolis, and a despatch from the Missionary House which left Boston at four o'clock in the afternoon was recently delivered in Kobe at noon on the following day.'

No less striking were the political and social changes. In 1869, the feudal order was still only slightly disturbed. The *daimyo*, though nominally transformed into governors, were still feudatory princes, 'each with his own army, his own system of finance and his own schemes for promoting or retarding the progress of civilization within his own domain.' The country was burdened with the support of 'nearly half a million *samurai* families, few of whom contributed anything to the wealth of the country.' Within less than ten years, the *daimyo*, as such, had disappeared; and 'essentially the same system of government and law prevails from the Kuriles in the North to the Loochoos in the South.' The *samurai* claims had been commuted and were gradually being paid off; 'and no outward mark distinguishes even the highest noble from any other well-to-do subject.' Greene noted one personal experience as of special interest: 'The other day, as I sat in a Japanese hotel, an old man, followed by his wife and one or two female attendants, came tottering out of an inner room and passed by me out of doors. He was, I learned, the

retired *daimyo* of Kaga, a prince whose retainers garrisoned the city of Tokyo when I resided there a little more than nine years ago, and who at that time, rarely, if ever, went abroad without a large company of armed retainers as an escort.'

The evolution of representative government was proceeding more slowly, but prefectural assemblies had been formed which brought public opinion to bear upon local administration and there was a striking change in the relation of the Emperor to his subjects. In August, 1879, Greene described a garden party, recently given to the Emperor by the citizens of Tokyo, and attended by about a hundred and fifty foreigners in addition to the diplomatic corps, as well as by a large number of Japanese. Greene was among the foreigners invited. 'This,' he wrote, 'is the first occasion on which a Japanese emperor has met his subjects in any such way. The heads of the wards of the city of Tokyo were presented to His Majesty as well as the committee of citizens who provided the entertainment, men most of whom ten years ago would have been forced to bow their faces in the dust if even an inferior *daimio* passed along their way, and who never dreamed of the possibility of their seeing so much as the shadow of the Tenshi, the Son of Heaven.'

The rising political and social importance of the *heimin* (persons outside of the nobility or gentry) was, he thought, likely to be reflected in the membership of the churches connected with his mission, which in the early years showed a distinct preponderance of *samurai*. With the poorer classes the missionaries had been less successful; but they were not to be neglected. 'We are using every means we know of reaching them, but they are more shy of us than the more intelligent.'

In his attitude toward the Japanese Government Greene was a friendly, but not undiscriminating, critic. In the matter of public health, for instance, the progress made seemed to him admirable. Speaking of the cholera epidemic

of 1877, he observed that it had been comparatively mild because of the 'extraordinary exertions' of the Government. 'I doubt whether the matter could be as well managed in any city in America.' It was quite natural, therefore, that he should have resented the lawless attitude of some foreigners who made the administration of the quarantine regulations unnecessarily difficult.

At first he had, quite naturally, denounced the restraints imposed by the authorities on liberty of opinion, especially in religious matters; but he appreciated some of the difficulties which the Government had to meet in its press regulations. By 1876, he was able to report that official regulation of the press did not prevent 'the free discussion of religious matters.' The press laws, in general, seemed to him 'annoying to publishers, far too strict, and indeed oppressive,' yet not wholly injurious. Newspaper circulation had grown with extraordinary rapidity and the character of the papers seemed to have improved. Japanese public opinion was divided on the question of press regulation, 'many contending that the press should be as free here as in America or England — others that it would be suicidal for the Government to allow such liberty.'

The bureaucratic officials of the Mombusho, or Imperial Department of Education, often seemed to him unreasonable, especially in their treatment of language instruction. Nevertheless, the common-school system was doing good work, 'in spite of the prominence given to the Chinese character.' 'So complete is the system,' he wrote in 1879, 'that there is hardly a mountain hamlet which is not within easy reach of a common school, and so great is the enthusiasm of the people that the schoolhouse will be found the most conspicuous and best furnished building in town.' Even five years earlier, he had observed a marked improvement in the methods of instruction and declared that the next ten years were 'likely to bring on to the stage a far more intelligent and better

educated class of men and women than we are meeting today.'

During Greene's residence in Yokohama, he had seen the stability of the new government seriously threatened. Many of the *samurai* were dissatisfied with the financial compensation allowed them in return for the surrender of their vested rights; and, though their demands seemed to him unreasonable, there was serious unrest, especially in the south. Finally in 1877 the Satsuma rebellion broke out, 'the most serious affair,' Greene wrote, 'the government has had on its hands since the restoration in 1869.' He believed, however, that the Government, though embarrassed, would 'eventually be able to quell the insurrection.' In October, 1877, he was able to report: 'The war in the South is at last over, and with it we believe the last chance of a serious disturbance among the *samurai*. It has been a severe test for the government.'

In 1879, Greene summed up in a letter to Boston, his general impressions of Japanese statesmanship: 'It is true that this is a heathen government but as the world goes it is not a bad government. It is superior in my view to that of Russia, and I believe the people enjoy a larger liberty, and that the rights of property are more completely respected than there. It would be easy to find fault, but on the whole it seems to me that the course of the Government since I came to Japan shows statesmanship of no mean order on the part of those in power, and I firmly believe that constitutional government will before many years be firmly established in Japan. I believe the intentions of the higher officials are in the main good and benevolent.'

From Greene's point of view, the most serious item on the adverse side of the balance sheet was the state of sexual morality. In a confidential letter he characterized it as appalling and deprecated the over-optimistic statements of one American observer. After illustrating his statement by certain details, he added: 'You will not find among the missionaries

a man who is more of a philo-Japanese than I am, and you may depend upon it, that I write this solely because it is true and needs to be known if we would have the needs of the people properly appreciated.'

Significant of increasing breadth of sympathy with Japanese thought is Greene's criticism of polemic methods in the presentation of Christianity. Speaking primarily of his own group, he declared that none of them would approve the 'polemic style of preaching.' 'So far as Buddhist morality is true morality, it is the same thing as Christian morality . . . A true missionary ought to acknowledge that Buddhism is incomparably better than no religion at all, and in that it has kept alive and much more than kept alive the religious instinct of the people it has been a great blessing to Japan.' Buddhist priests were for a long time 'the only scholars in Japan, and until the Department of Education was started a few years ago they did more than any other one class of persons to promote popular education, at least such is my impression.' On the other hand, he observed that actual Buddhism in China and Japan varied widely from the theory and believed that the priests of his time were 'for the most part unworthy of respect.'

The duty of the missionaries was, Greene thought, to go to the Japanese acknowledging 'all the good we have found in Buddhism,' and admitting that there might be much more not yet discovered, but pointing out that Christianity had something better to offer. As for himself, Greene said that he had rarely preached to non-Christian audiences without giving them in substance this statement of his general position: 'Now do not take this simply at my word, but look in the Christian books and talk with the native Christians, and make up your mind whether this religion is worthy of your acceptance. It claims that it provides an atonement for the sins of the past, that it is able to strengthen man in his conflicts against sin and to make him a purer and every way a

better man than he could hope to be without it, to comfort him in trial and to give an assured hope of a blessed immortality. Examine it as carefully as possible and see if Christianity makes good this claim.'

The foreign missionary must inevitably occupy himself to a greater or less extent with international problems. His citizenship continues ordinarily with the country of his origin and he depends upon it more or less, for the protection of his person and his property. This was especially true in China and Japan where foreigners were outside the ordinary administration of the law, and under the jurisdiction of their respective consular authorities. To Greene himself this seemed at first quite necessary. Writing to one of his brothers, shortly after the arrest of his teacher, Ichikawa, his feelings were naturally affected by that painful experience. Referring specifically to the pending difficulties between the United States and Korea, he declared that if the Koreans were allowed to try, and execute, American citizens, it would be permitting what had not been and ought not to be conceded to any 'unchristian nation.' The Ichikawa episode illustrated 'what an awful thing it is to be subject of an Oriental government. A man may be seized without being made acquainted with the charge against him, be hurried off a long distance from his friends, be tried without a jury, without a single witness for the defense, and then for no offense of which any government has a right to take cognizance be led away to execution.'

Gradually, however, as Japanese governmental practice was modernized under the influence of Western ideas, Greene's attitude changed. He was willing, for instance, to accept Japanese control of the educational work of his mission, which involved some degree of control by the Imperial Government. He became also increasingly sympathetic with the Japanese point of view on international issues generally. In 1875, he condemned the 'Shimonoseki indemnity,' col-

lected by the United States and other foreign powers on account of the action of the *daimyo* of Choshu in firing upon foreign shipping: 'Every red cent ought to be given back by a unanimous vote, for the United States has not the slightest show of a moral right to the money.'

Life in a treaty port, with its shifting population, inevitably brought home to any fair-minded man the difficulties which confronted the Japanese authorities in dealing with lawless foreigners who could shelter themselves under the often ineffective jurisdiction of their consular authorities. Nor was the lawlessness confined to drunken sailors or other irresponsible persons. In 1879, when the country was suffering from a severe epidemic of cholera, Greene commented indignantly on the action of the German Minister 'in ordering the steamer "Hesperia" to break quarantine.' It seemed to him 'one of the most disgraceful pieces of diplomatic bullying ever heard of in these parts. The truth is that the life of a Japanese is not of much account when it stands in the way of trade in the eyes of the German Minister.' The result of these observations was a growing conviction in favor of a revision of the treaties and the abandonment under certain conditions of extraterritorial jurisdiction. In order to reconcile foreigners to the change, he advocated such a modification of Japanese law as would secure to the defendant in a criminal case the kind of safeguards afforded by Anglo-American usage.

Early in 1880, Greene records an interesting conversation on this subject with a group of representative Japanese gathered at a private house in Okayama. When reference was made to the attitude of the Western powers in the matter of treaty revision and that of Great Britain toward the opium trade in China, he expressed his agreement with much that had been said. 'I have,' he wrote, 'great sympathy with the Japanese in their desire to be admitted to the family of nations on equal terms with the treaty powers.' He pointed

out, however, difficulties which the Japanese seemed to overlook and tried to show how revision might be hastened. He also urged that the injustice of Christian Governments ought not to be laid at the door of Christianity, but should be charged to 'the innate selfishness of man,' which Christianity sought to subdue.

In a letter written to Boston about the same time, Greene urged a fair consideration of the difficulties of the Japanese Government in connection with the Doshisha and emphasized the trying position of the Japanese authorities under the existing treaties: 'They cannot regulate their tariff; they cannot control their harbors, they cannot enforce sanitary regulations or maintain a quarantine. They cannot in any way dispossess a foreigner when his land is needed for public improvements. They cannot even enlarge one of the concessions without the consent of so large a number of foreign representatives as makes it almost impossible. They are hampered at every turn.' At the time this letter was written, the administration at Washington, in which Greene's uncle, William M. Evarts, was then Secretary of State, seemed disposed to act more independently of the other Western powers and to adopt a more liberal policy in the matter of treaty revision. The reluctance of the Japanese Government to alienate other powers, not then ready to make such concessions, unfortunately prevented final acceptance of the revised treaty which Mr. Evarts proposed. Mr. John A. Bingham, the American Minister in Tokyo, was also sympathetic with the Japanese Government. Though Greene's first impressions of Bingham were not wholly favorable, he heartily approved the course taken by the Minister in support of the Japanese quarantine regulations: 'I can almost forget his crude notions of political economy in view of his maintaining so vigorous a stand for the rights of the Japanese Government.'

His opinion of Bingham grew more favorable as time went

on; but there were other American officials about whom he felt quite differently. Of one consular officer in Japan, Greene wrote that he was energetic and able and therefore popular 'with most of the merchants,' but personally quite objectionable. Greene rarely took up such matters with the Government at Washington; but in this case he wrote to Secretary Evarts, urging the removal of the obnoxious official, and proposed also to take up the matter with Senator Hoar. A few years later, Greene protested vigorously against the suggestion that this same official might be sent back to Japan as the head of the legation. It seemed to the young missionary a matter of the utmost importance that the official representatives of Christendom should not discredit the religious and ethical ideals of the West.

In China, the American diplomatic service had drawn upon the missionary group for expert assistance; and, for short periods, the American legation was actually in charge of men who had gone to China as missionaries of the American Board. Fortunately, on the whole, this employment of missionaries in the diplomatic service did not take place in Japan, though Hepburn was offered an appointment as secretary and Greene, himself, would quite probably have received one, if he had so desired. In 1876, after a period of anxiety about his family budget, one of his brothers, who was on intimate terms with George F. Hoar, then a member of the House of Representatives, suggested that the office of Secretary of Legation and Interpreter might be open to him. The suggestion was not wholly unwelcome and the number of eligible candidates was so limited that the appointment seemed not unlikely. 'However,' he wrote, 'I am assured on all sides that it is my duty to stay where I am, and that my place could not be filled just now were I to leave, hence I have given up all thought of taking the position, though I must confess the idea of so easily freeing myself from my embarrassments seemed tempting enough for a while.' A few

months later he informed the Boston office that he had been mentioned to Secretary Fish as a candidate; but that he had immediately written to ask that 'nothing further be done about it.' He then thought the appointment unlikely, and, if it came, he did not intend to accept it.

The story of these years at Yokohama would be incomplete without some reference to the foreign community, especially since Greene then lived in a distinctly foreign section of the city. His house, No. 223 Bluff, stood on the narrow and steep ridge overlooking the city, which had already become the principal residential area for the foreigners, the old 'concession' along the 'Bund' or waterfront, being largely devoted to various kinds of business. The 'Bluff' had a few Japanese families; but in the main it was a region of foreign houses with pleasant gardens, suggesting the more attractive parts of the old Chinese treaty ports. In fact, the organization of the foreign community here and its social traditions were largely shaped by men who had lived through similar developments in China. Many years later in a brief address to the Asiatic Society, on the death of his old friend, Hepburn, Greene made some interesting remarks about this aspect of Yokohama society at the beginning of the seventies:

'When I arrived ten years later [than Hepburn], one of the most interesting features of the life of the foreign community was the part these sometime residents in China played in moulding the prevailing public sentiment.

'It was my good fortune to meet at Dr. Hepburn's fireside a number of men of this group, not all actual residents of Yokohama, it is true, but they strikingly illustrated the strength of the tie which bound them together, the outgrowth of the special conditions which characterized alike the smaller communities of foreigners scattered along the China coast.

'I recall, as residents or visitors, Sir Harry Parkes, Dr. S. R. Brown, W. G. Howell of the "Japan Mail," Mr. Lay of

the China Customs Service, Dr. R. S. Maclay, George F. Seward, Dr. E. W. Syle and others. There seemed to be a kind of free masonry which bound them together.'

In the Yokohama of the seventies, much more than in Kobe, the life of the foreign community was affected by the presence of numerous representatives of the Western governments. In addition to the various consulates — American, British, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Belgian, Portuguese, Swedish and Norwegian, Danish, and Swiss — there were numerous other foreign official establishments. For a time the British and the French kept their own postal agencies. There were naval hospitals — American, British, and French. The two latter nationalities had in 1874 a considerable military as well as naval personnel, the British being the largest with a battalion of the Royal Marine Light Infantry. Finally, the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the consuls over their nationals called for some special service. The British were particularly careful to organize a court 'with complete judicial machinery' and 'trained judges.' Besides these representatives of foreign governments, there were in the Yokohama of 1874, or its immediate vicinity, many foreign employees of the Japanese Government. The Japanese court at Kanagawa had its foreign interpreters; there were foreign experts also in the customs, in the government railway and telegraph service and in the neighboring arsenal of Yokosuka.

To all this foreign official society must be added the legation staff at Tokyo, less than twenty miles away and now connected by a regular railway service which made business and social intercourse comparatively easy. In this group, the dominating personality was undoubtedly the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, a familiar figure to all foreign residents of Yokohama and Tokyo. Coming to Japan after a long and highly successful career as consul in China, he carried over to his new post the vigor and aggressiveness

then generally characteristic of the British consular service in the Far East. The American representative, Bingham, took a more liberal attitude toward the Japanese; but he was handicapped by his lack of experience and was, intellectually, a person of less distinction.

Greene's most satisfactory contact with the diplomatic circle was perhaps through the Asiatic Society of which he became a member about the time of his transfer to Yokohama. In 1875, for instance, when his name first appears in the list of members and when his colleague, Dr. S. R. Brown, of the Translation Committee, was the president, several members of the British diplomatic and consular service were actively concerned in its work. Sir Harry Parkes, was for a time president of the Society and a contributor to its proceedings; but the most distinguished Japanese expert in the British service was doubtless Ernest Satow, then Japanese Secretary to the Legation, and subsequently minister successively in Tokyo and in Peking. During the later seventies he was the corresponding secretary of the Society and the author of some of the most scholarly articles published in its 'Transactions.' Unfortunately the traditions of the American consular and diplomatic service in the East were not then such as to permit any effective competition with the British in this respect. This was true, not only in the seventies, but during the greater part of Greene's service in Japan.

Greene's part in the affairs of the Asiatic Society was at first limited, except as an attendant at meetings and as a student of its 'Transactions,' but it proved to be a growing interest with him, and he subsequently became one of its most influential members. What is most significant for this period is that on this common ground of scientific and literary interest in the Japanese people, the missionary group in Yokohama and Tokyo — Hepburn, Brown, Greene and others — were brought into intellectual contact with a remarkable circle of diplomats, men of letters, and scientific experts, as well as a few of the more liberal-minded business men.

In promoting intercourse between various elements in the foreign community, the English-language press of Tokyo and Yokohama had an important part. Greene's comment on these papers, in 1879, may be of some interest. Of the Tokyo 'Times,' which seemed to be somewhat read in the United States, he observed that its opinions must 'be taken *cum grano salis*.' Its editor, the American E. H. House, had, Greene thought, a strong prejudice against the British Minister. 'He hates Sir Harry Parkes with a feeling akin to that which Hannibal felt toward Rome.' The 'Japan Gazette' and the 'Japan Herald' both seemed to him 'ultra-foreign,' especially the latter, 'and very slow to admit that the Japanese Government is ever in the right.' The 'Japan Mail' was 'a more trustworthy source for news'; and its editorials then appeared to be written 'in a very fair spirit.' Greene himself became a subscriber and an occasional contributor to the 'Mail,' with whose editor, Captain F. Brinkley, he was afterwards more intimately associated.

Greene's contacts with the foreign business men, some of them members of independent firms, and others in agencies of the great international trading and banking corporations, varied considerably. He and his wife had good friends among them and he was interested in such common enterprises as the Union Church, which brought together religious-minded foreigners other than those belonging to the Roman and Anglican communions. On certain points, however, he was, like his missionary associates generally, distinctly critical of the merchant group. Its social standards seemed to him lax, and its public opinion on international questions lacking in real statesmanship. Holding these views, he thought it important to select for Asiatic countries, ministers of 'independent minds' not 'too amenable to the public sentiment of the open ports.' That sentiment was not only often unjust to the Japanese. It was 'hardly less often at variance with the best interests of the United States.'

In the midst of these varied associations, the Greenes celebrated the close of their first decade in Japan. On the fifth of November, 1879, Mrs. Greene wrote in her journal: 'It was just ten years yesterday since Crosby and I left America — ten most happy years. We celebrated the day by taking a long walk to Kamakura and back again.' On their return they made an evening call — twenty-six miles of walking in all — a memorable celebration for the mother of five children who at the time of her marriage was far from robust. The thirtieth of the same month brought another decennial anniversary — the day of their landing in Japan. This time the Hepburns and a few other friends were invited to tea 'to rejoice with us, in the completion of our first ten years in Japan.'

Happy as they were in this first period of their missionary service, the strain had at times been severe for them both. For her there had been the effort to combine missionary work with the responsibilities of a household, which now included five children — the eldest not yet ten years old. For Greene himself the last stages of the Translation Committee work had brought a heavy load and some warnings from his medical advisers. So, in 1878, he applied for a furlough to take effect when the Committee finished its work, his preference being for a return voyage to New York by way of Suez. The Board officers in Boston, taking a very different view from that which has prevailed recently, at first questioned the propriety of a furlough, even after ten years' service, unless relief seemed imperative. Greene reminded them, however, that there were now only three missionaries who had been longer on the ground without a furlough; that the missionaries in general needed fresh contacts with their constituencies at home; and that it would be a mistake for the Board to postpone action until the year would have to be used exclusively for rest rather than for study. Finally, after unanimous endorsement of Greene's request by the mission, it was

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE IN 1881

approved by the Board. Then came delays in the work of the Translation Committee; but in May, 1880, the Greenes sailed for San Francisco by the steamer Oceanic of the Occidental and Oriental Company. They made a quick voyage, about ten days shorter than their outward journey in the America ten years before.

During the early days of June, while the Garfield-Hancock presidential campaign was coming on, they made their way across the continent, retracing the old route of 1869 to which the intervening decade had brought many changes, including the formation of the new state of Colorado. After visits with relatives, and some speaking by the way, the autumn of 1880 found them comfortably settled on an old homestead in Westborough. It proved to be a happy year, bringing to the parents the renewal of many old ties and to the children all the varied attractions of a New England winter in the country, with the winter sports which they had missed in the comparatively warm climate of central Japan. Here also, the older children had their first experience of American public schools, after the distinctly English training of their Yokohama school.

Leaving Boston in 1869, a young and untried man of twenty-six, Greene had come back still comparatively young, but already a veteran, the founder of a rapidly growing mission with every prospect of success in the future. During the early years of his service, there were natural doubts as to his judgment, but time brought increasing confidence in the soundness of his advice and an increasing disposition to accept his recommendations.

CHAPTER X

OLD AND NEW IN KYOTO. THE DOSHISHA

For Greene, as for other returned missionaries, the year at home was not one of uninterrupted leisure. Japanese problems were discussed with Board officials and in public addresses, chiefly in New England churches. Though recognizing his primary obligation to the Board and its home constituency, Greene refused to take narrow views of his responsibility. His experience in Japan had given him an international point of view on certain questions which he felt bound to present to his countrymen. In the winter of 1880–81, when a new American-Chinese treaty came up for discussion and there was some sharp criticism of the clause directed against the opium trade, he did what he could to secure public support for that measure. In January, 1881, he wrote of some recent articles in the 'Boston Advertiser': 'The Advertiser articles showed a mixture of ignorance and heartlessness which surprised me. The incentive to write came, I have no doubt, from present or past members of the firm of Russell & Co. of Shanghai, Hongkong, etc.' He was able to get his views before the public partly through his brother, J. Evarts Greene, then editor of the Worcester 'Spy,' and partly through a letter of his own to the 'Advertiser.' Of certain editorials in the 'Spy,' he wrote: 'I furnished a part of the ammunition — indeed they are, I believe, the result of some remarks of mine.' In February, 1881, he was in Washington and probably conferred with Secretary Evarts. On February 18th, he wrote, *à propos* of his 'Advertiser' letter, 'I was glad to hear from my uncle, Mr. Evarts, that the opposition to the opium clause was not likely to make any impression in Washington.'

Greene also took occasion to discuss in the 'Advertiser'

and elsewhere the general issue of extraterritoriality; and several years later, when the question of treaty revision was being warmly discussed in the Tokyo papers, he referred to these contributions as illustrating the sympathy felt by missionaries with the Japanese point of view. He added that his efforts had 'won the unsolicited commendation of Messrs. Angell and Trescott, members of the treaty commission, and of the then Secretary of State, the Honorable William M. Evarts.'

As the year passed the question of future location in Japan became urgent. One possibility was Tokyo, which, as the chief political and educational center of the Empire, was drawing members of the Congregational, or *Kumi-ai*, churches from other sections. The new church there, consequently, had a strategic importance quite out of proportion to its numbers. From this base it would also be possible to coöperate with other churches in this Eastern area. From the point of view of inter-denominational missionary cooperation, also, it would be convenient to have a representative of the American Board in the Tokyo–Yokohama district, to keep in touch with other missionary groups and be available for certain common undertakings. A second possible location was with the Doshisha at Kyoto. For the important educational work then developing in the old capital, Greene was, in the opinion of his colleagues, particularly well-equipped, especially since his college and seminary training had been supplemented by six years of experience with the Translation Committee. Finally, there was correspondence looking to the development of a new center of influence at Kochi, a provincial capital in the island of Shikoku, then a stronghold of political and intellectual liberalism. It was understood that the 'reformers' there wished to have a missionary, partly to give instruction in English, 'but especially that they may learn what Christianity is.' They were willing, therefore, to give the missionary considerable

freedom 'to preach and teach Christianity without consuming his time in other branches.'

At first the decision seemed likely to be in favor of Tokyo and in the summer of 1881, Mrs. Greene wrote in her journal: 'It is about decided that our home will be in Tokyo, which is quite to our minds.' The matter remained undecided, however, until their return to Japan in the autumn of 1881. Then the final decision was in favor of Kyoto. Greene's comment at the time shows that his own judgment was in favor of going to Tokyo; but he added, 'I was not unwilling to accept the advice of the mission and I do not expect to be sorry for it.' Early in 1882, the family found temporary quarters in the house of a colleague, then on furlough; and during the following spring and summer he built a house of his own.

In sharp contrast with such modernized cities as Kobe and Yokohama, Kyoto in the early eighties preserved much of the spirit and outward aspect of the old régime. It was then a city of some 300,000 people, less than in its golden age, when it was the actual, as well as the nominal, capital of the Empire. When Perry visited Japan, the real business of government had long been transferred to Yedo but the Emperor still lived in his Kyoto palace, surrounded by the residences of the *Kuge*, or court nobles. The Restoration brought another serious blow to the prestige of the ancient capital when the Emperor himself abandoned it for its modern rival to the eastward. So it came about that when Greene and his colleagues first saw the city in the middle seventies, certain parts of it, particularly the immediate neighborhood of the imperial palace, presented a neglected and melancholy appearance.

Though much of the ancient dignity had passed, much remained. The site of the city, selected more than a thousand years before, was some thirty miles from the sea — roughly a day's journey under the old conditions — and it was built on a level plain with the mountains round about it. The city-planning of its founders was on a generous scale, with broad

streets intersecting each other perpendicularly. Near its northern end was the great imperial enclosure, with the buildings and the residences of court dignitaries. Even in their comparative neglect they were impressive reminders of the old dynastic tradition, of the Imperial House descended from the gods in a line 'unbroken for ages eternal.' For the adherents of Shinto, the long residence here of the imperial dynasty was in itself enough to make the city a sacred place; and there were numerous well-known shrines of the old ethnic faith. The most conspicuous religious monuments, however, were those of Buddhism. The traveler who entered the city from the south found himself at once confronted by the great temple buildings of the Hongwangi sect; several other Buddhist sects were represented by temples or monastic establishments of national reputation. The ringing of the deep-toned temple bells was a constant reminder, to believers and unbelievers alike, of the presence of these ancient cults. The mountains, too, which rose about the city, especially Hieisan, had their cherished associations with saintly or heroic personages.

Here as in the Western world, palaces, temples, and monasteries were valued, not only for their memories of ancient sovereigns, national heroes, and great religious teachers, but for the famous works of art by which they were adorned. Architecture, sculpture, and painting were all represented here by the work of great masters. So Kyoto had become through the centuries a great center of national arts, as well as of patriotism and religion. Nor was it in palaces and temples only that the old traditions found expression. The shops of the city were full of the work of the 'artisan-artist' — in silk, in bronze, and in pottery. Notable also, were the popular festivals, religious or semi-religious in character, carrying on from generation to generation the ideas and states of mind of a remote past.

With all these associations, Kyoto was naturally one of the

chief strongholds of the old-time spirit, as against the advancing tide of Western influence. It was not a treaty port, special passes were required of foreign visitors, and permits for longer residence were at first given reluctantly and sparingly. About ten years before Greene settled down in Kyoto, he had visited the city on special permit, with his wife, two children and a few friends. One member of the party noted that in the crowds which followed them about with curious but not unfriendly interest, there were few, if any, who had ever seen American or European women or children. Even in 1882, Greene began his residence in the city on a six months' pass from the Japanese authorities and an additional application had to be made for a permit to teach. By that time, however, a kind of *modus vivendi* had been worked out for the missionary groups and for the Doshisha, largely through the efforts of the Japanese founder, Joseph Neesima who, as one of the secretaries of the Iwakura Mission of 1871–73, had formed influential connections in official circles. Useful also was the friendly interest of one of the city councilors, whose sister became Mr. Neesima's wife and who with him formed the original Doshisha Company. Hostile influences, official and religious, were thus overcome and the approval of the Tokyo Government secured.

The main features of the system under which the Doshisha was then working were these: The land and other property of the school was held by a small group, the Doshisha Company, composed wholly of Japanese. Since no real estate could be owned by foreigners outside of the treaty ports, even the houses in which the missionaries lived were held for them, first by Neesima personally and later by the Doshisha Company. The American Board furnished missionary teachers and American money was given for certain other purposes. It was an essential part of the understanding between the mission and the Japanese promoters that the institution should be Christian and that its educational policy should be

determined by its faculty. In effect, the control was with Neesima and his missionary associates, Neesima himself being a corresponding member of the mission. The Government consented to the establishment of the school under these conditions; but, as a concession to the opposition, formal Biblical instruction had for several years to be given outside the regular school buildings. Government control of the whole situation was emphasized further by the official permits required of foreign teachers and issued only for limited periods of time.

In short, the arrangement between the mission and the Japanese group was based on mutual understandings rather than a strictly legal status. The mission had no lien on the property of the school; but American workers and the Board made their contributions in service and money, in confidence that the property would be administered on the principles laid down by its original promoters. This reliance on the Japanese Christians was quite in accord with Greene's ideas of missionary policy. He believed, however, that it was desirable to guard against future misunderstandings by putting the agreement in definite written form, which was actually done in 1883. At the same time, the Doshisha holding company, or Board of Trustees, previously composed only of Neesima and his brother-in-law, was enlarged to five members.

The school began its work in rented quarters, but a tract of five and a half acres had already been secured and a group of somewhat temporary buildings was soon erected. The situation of this tract is suggestive. Adjoining it on the south was the imperial palace and just behind were the grounds of an old Buddhist temple. The growth of the school was at first slow; but at the opening of the academic year 1882–83 there were one hundred and sixty students, of whom thirty were taking a theological course. During the next four years, the Doshisha shared in the general progress of the Christian

movement, profiting by the keen popular interest in Western ideas and educational methods. By 1886 there were about three hundred pupils and three years later about seven hundred. In addition to the courses for men, there was a school for girls.

Among Greene's associates in the management of the institution, the outstanding figure was its Japanese founder, Joseph Hardy Neesima, who was not only the leading member of the Board of Trustees, but also the president of the institution. A *samurai* by family connection and early education, he had as a youth become interested in Western learning and in Christianity. In 1864, at the risk of his life, he went aboard a foreign vessel bound for Shanghai and from there made his way to Boston on a ship belonging to the Boston firm of Alpheus Hardy and Company, the head of which happened also to be a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board. With the financial assistance of Mr. Hardy, the young Japanese was educated at Phillips Academy, Amherst College, and Andover Theological Seminary. His interest in Christianity was strengthened by these associations and before his return to Japan in 1874 he was ordained to the Christian ministry.

A man of fine simplicity of character, Neesima was too sensitive and even diffident for what is ordinarily called executive efficiency; and his achievements were due largely to the confidence inspired by his patriotism and his whole-hearted devotion to the Christian cause. Ten years of life abroad had made him a strong believer in the value of Christian civilization as exemplified especially by his American friends; but he remained throughout a loyal Japanese. He felt keenly the ordeal through which Japanese society was passing as a result of its new relation to the Western world, and believed that what the younger generation most needed was an education based on Christian principles. Having reached this conviction, he held it unshaken throughout his career.

While a student in the United States, Neesima was called on for service to his country as an *attaché* of the Iwakura Mission, which had been sent abroad partly in the interests of treaty revision and partly to gather information about Western institutions. This service, which lasted for the greater part of a year, enlarged his knowledge of the West through European travel and also brought him into relations with such influential Japanese statesmen as Kido and Okubo, outstanding figures in the Restoration of 1868, and Ito, a comparatively young man then but with a great career before him. Neesima's relations with some of these men may fairly be called intimate, especially in the case of Tanaka, the commissioner of education. Though this service might well have led to an official career, he refused all suggestions of preferment and held to the course he had marked out for himself.

This independence and singleness of purpose made a deep impression not only upon Neesima's fellow-Christians but also on many who did not share his religious convictions. After his death, there appeared in a periodical published by Mr. Fukuzawa, one of the best-known intellectual leaders of 'Young Japan,' an interesting appreciation of his character, in which the writer emphasized Neesima's emancipation from the common error of 'attaching too much weight to everything official, as if there were no position of fame or honor outside of the government.' Mr. Neesima, on the contrary, 'living in a corrupt age, was not corrupted by it.' This personal prestige of Neesima among his countrymen gave the Doshisha during his lifetime a unique position among missionary institutions, and brought to its support many public men who might not have been attracted in any other way. Among those who visited the institution during these early years were Count Inouye, one of the 'Elder Statesmen,' and Count Okuma. In 1888, the former gave a dinner at which thirty thousand yen were subscribed to the Doshisha endow-

ment including substantial amounts from himself and Count Okuma.

Neesima agreed with his missionary associates in emphasizing the training of Christian ministers; but he believed that the religious influence of the institution would be greatly increased if it could be expanded into a real university. On this point there was difference of opinion and the resources of the mission did not permit such expansion without large independent gifts. Much of Neesima's energy during the last years of his life was therefore given to the task of raising the necessary funds. The precarious condition of his health, which brought his career to a premature close at the age of forty-seven, also limited his share in the internal affairs of the institution and increased to that extent the administrative responsibilities of the faculty.

Of the American faculty, the senior in point of service at the Doshisha, and a co-founder of the institution with Neesima, was Jerome D. Davis, a thoroughgoing Western Puritan, who combined the main features of the 'New England theology' with a distinctly emotional temperament. Devoted to the best interests of his students and arousing in them a genuine affection for their teacher, he held during the early years of the Doshisha a quite unique position. He was less able, however, than some of his colleagues to interpret the intellectual movements of the time and an increasing number of his students found it impossible to adjust their thinking to his uncompromisingly orthodox theology.

Next among the Americans in priority of service at the Doshisha was Dwight W. Learned, a Yale doctor of philosophy and a quiet scholar, who gave his main attention to New Testament exegesis and church history, but like all his colleagues undertook many other teaching and administrative duties. He was perhaps best known to the Japanese Christians through his published commentaries; but he also wrote textbooks on church history and economics.

JOSEPH NEESIMA

JEROME D. DAVIS

A somewhat older man, with whom Greene probably felt himself more at ease personally and intellectually than with any one else among his early colleagues was M. L. Gordon. Gordon, like several of his associates, had seen service in the Civil War and had then taken professional courses both in medicine and in theology, the latter at Andover. A Pennsylvanian and a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, he brought into the mission a less definitely New England outlook; denominational interests were for him comparatively unimportant. He too was a man of scholarly tastes, a serious student of comparative religion with special reference to Buddhism, and a writer of real distinction. His 'American Missionary in Japan' may fairly be regarded as a classic of its kind. With these intellectual interests, Gordon was also a man of warm sympathies and that fine courtesy nowhere more highly valued than among the Japanese.

By the time Greene entered the Doshisha faculty, there were some Japanese members occupied with the more general, as distinguished from the theological, instruction. This Japanese group included some able young men who had come to the Doshisha as members of the Kumamoto Band. Naturally their point of view was not always precisely that of their American associates and brought some problems of mutual adjustment.

Though the general courses then offered in the institution were, for the most part, more elementary than those of a standard American college, the average age of the students was not very different. They were a serious, hard-working, somewhat emotional group, cherishing a certain independence — not to say eccentricity — in dress and bearing. They had their own ideas as to the instruction which should be offered and sometimes applied drastic remedies for real or supposed deficiencies. Both foreign and Japanese instructors suffered at times from student 'strikes' and other strenuous expressions of dissatisfaction. Apparently there was some friction

growing out of disciplinary regulations; and the prevailing Japanese code, even among young men of the better type, doubtless offered some difficult problems to men of Puritan antecedents. Yet the general tone was high and there were periods of special religious excitement in which some of the faculty felt obliged to exert a moderating, rather than a stimulating, influence.

It was in such a community that Greene and his family were established in the winter of 1881–82. Their new house closely adjoined the Doshisha property, and the other mission families lived in the immediate vicinity. The Doshisha group — faculty and students — were inevitably isolated in some respects. The missionaries had to depend on the coöperation of the mothers to provide teaching for their children and there was little foreign society outside of their own number. When the heated season came, they took their vacations together on the neighboring heights of Hieisan. The social relations established within this circle were especially intimate but there was also an active social intercourse with Japanese associates and students. Hospitalities of a simple kind played an important part in the missionary household. In 1884, Mrs. Greene recorded in her journal a hundred calls received on New Year's Day.

Greene had been called to Kyoto primarily with reference to a vernacular course in theology for students who could not read English. Actually, however, neither he nor his colleagues could limit themselves to any specific kind of teaching. The field of study for which he assumed special responsibility was Old Testament Exegesis, and he prepared his lectures as thoroughly as he could with an overcrowded programme. In these studies, he gave some attention to the 'higher criticism' of the Biblical texts and took a freer view of 'inspiration' than that held by some of his more conservative associates. It is, perhaps, significant that his library included a book by his Andover classmate, Ladd, embodying similar views. His

work on the Translation Committee also kept him more in touch with modern Biblical scholarship than he could have been if absorbed in direct missionary work. An entry in Mrs. Greene's journal indicates that, though he had long been accustomed to making public addresses in Japanese, he made use at first of an interpreter to put his lectures into that language.

In general, the lack of adequate books in Japanese led to the giving of more instruction in English than was afterwards required. Much of Greene's time had to be given to elementary instruction in English, often of an individual kind, as in the criticism of student papers, with conferences at his own house. Such conferences were sometimes combined with simple social entertainments. Mrs. Greene describes one such evening shortly after their arrival when five students took tea with them. 'It was the first time that any of them had ever eaten in a foreign house, and they were quite overcome with embarrassment, although we did our best to relieve them. One of them scarcely ate anything and I am really afraid he went hungry to bed.' Many years later a former pupil, who became one of the directors of the Bank of Japan, recalled with special interest the social, as well as intellectual, advantages — the insight into Western life — which came to him through such intercourse. It was probably in these ways that Greene's influence as a teacher was most strongly felt.

Like his colleagues generally, Greene had occasional difficulties with his students, difficulties peculiarly trying to a man of his sensitive temperament. When, however, in 1886, he was considering removal to Tokyo, five of his Japanese associates, headed by Neesima, signed an urgent appeal for his continuanee at the Doshisha. Noting that each of their American colleagues had his special qualifications, they emphasized in Greene's case the fact that he was 'so well experienced in the Japanese life and manners.' Some of the

student criticism seemed to him quite reasonable and was used as an argument for better facilities, as in the case of the library, 'our great need now.' Again, asking for new teachers, he wrote that the students were 'pressing us so hard, that we must all be specialists.'

Greene's teaching load was heavy enough; but this was only one of many responsibilities, not the least of which was his service as a kind of supervising architect. He not only had more experience with Japanese contractors and workmen than his colleagues; but he was also interested in the problems of design and construction. During the summer of 1883, he was 'busy getting the drawings ready for our new school building.' This 'first permanent building of the Doshisha,' the first brick building in Kyoto with the exception of the railroad station, was completed in 1884 and with its clock-tower is still a picturesque feature of the Doshisha campus. By the time this work was done, he was presenting estimates for two additional buildings, a chapel and a library, which were ready for use in 1886 and 1887. In addition to the usual difficulty of keeping expenditures within estimates, Greene had to contend with the inexperience of the Japanese builders in such work. Fluctuations in the rate of exchange between Japanese and American money were also disturbing.

Greene claimed no special distinction for his work, saying of his first building, the *Sho Ei Kwan*, or 'Glory-revealing Hall,' that its name was intended to indicate its purpose and not as 'a compliment to the building which makes no special pretensions to architectural merit.' He took satisfaction, however, in saving the expense of architectural supervision; in presenting some later estimates, he wrote that he thought he could 'put up the buildings so that whether as regards solidity or the general appearance you will not regret having entrusted them to my care.' Incidentally the purchase of supplies enlarged his acquaintance with Japanese business men, with whom he discussed Western methods and inven-

DOSHISHA BUILDINGS

Showing at the left two buildings of which Mr. Greene was the architect, with others of a later period

tions, an intercourse which some of them found stimulating, as it doubtless was to him also.

Greene also took his share in the general administration of the institution and the shaping of its policies. Among the measures which he advocated were: the placing of more responsibility on the Japanese teachers; a clearer definition of the relation between the Doshisha and the mission; the improvement of the library — 'our apology for a library,' as he called it in 1882; and new teachers of English and science, setting the older missionaries free for work in which their knowledge of Japanese was more needed. He supported vigorously Neesima's proposal to develop the Doshisha into a real University and shortly after beginning his work at Kyoto wrote with enthusiasm: 'I do not think it is merely pride in our own work which makes some of us think this school is soon to be, if it is not already, by far the most prominent factor in the Christianization of Japan.' Earlier in the same year, his wife had written of their hope that the school would 'sometime become a famous college' with departments of law and medicine.

Greene saw some objections to the University proposal, but they were not insuperable: 'All our best Japanese are praying and asking for this end and for us to put ourselves in opposition would be to cost us our influence . . . a generous effort to help them in establishing this new department [medicine] will be well worth its cost as a proof that the Christian public of America sympathizes with them in their desire for a broad and thorough Christian culture.' A few weeks later he wrote, in answer to objections from Boston: 'The undue cultivation of the intellect no doubt is beset with dangers, but I feel sure it is best for us to meet these dangers, cope with them as best we can, rather than let the impression get abroad that we are afraid of intellectual culture. . . . The unbelief of the present age seems to me to be a kind of epidemic and should be treated as such. It ought not to be allowed to seriously affect our policy.'

With all his desire for a liberal culture, he held quite frankly that the effective presentation of Christianity should be the primary concern: 'We do not mean to be self-seeking and narrow in it, but we mean to bring the strongest religious influence we can exert to bear on the students who come to us.'

Though the service of the Doshisha was the chief work of the missionaries at Kyoto, they were active in other matters. Both Greene and his wife associated themselves definitely with one of the Japanese churches, coöperating in various ways, including the teaching of classes for men and women respectively; Mrs. Greene played the organ at certain services. Greene also preached occasionally at one of the other churches — of course in Japanese.

The Doshisha was closely associated with the evangelistic service carried on throughout the country in coöperation with the new Japanese home missionary organization. Graduates went out from the theological school to become pastors of churches, and even before graduation conducted services for communities without a permanent pastorate. The general principle of self-support for the Japanese churches was modified to some extent by making grants to their own Missionary Society in a certain agreed proportion between foreign and Japanese funds. In 1882, the Americans were represented in this coöperative service by a committee of five, a majority of whom belonged to the Doshisha faculty. Greene was a member of the committee, becoming its treasurer and for a time practically its executive officer.

Even after his transfer to Kyoto, Greene retained a general oversight of the work to the eastward including that at Tokyo, where he followed with interest the work of three vigorous young Doshisha graduates — all members of the 'Kumamoto Band.' One of them was Kozaki, pastor of the first Tokyo Church, 'a most quiet and unassuming man,' but an effective speaker and a leader in interdenominational Christian work,

with a 'very enviable influence over men in the government service.' Kozaki was also founder of two Christian periodicals, one issued weekly and the other monthly. Greene was subsequently designated by the mission to represent its interest in these publications which it aided for a time by special grants. He worked also on a plan for interdenominational coöperation in one of these papers, the 'Kirisuto Kyo Shimbun' ('The Christian'), which was then (1886) 'the only religious weekly newspaper published in Japan in the interest of Christianity.'

Another young graduate in Tokyo was Ebina, whom Greene had known for some years as the pastor of the Annaka church. Visiting that church on one of his tours in 1884, he was impressed by some of the titles in the pastor's library. There were religious books — Alford's 'Greek Testament for English Readers,' Paley's 'Natural Theology,' Butler's 'Analogy,' and Schaff's 'Church History'; but secular literature was also represented — Jowett's Plato, Montesquieu's 'Spirit of the Laws,' Draper's 'Intellectual Development of Europe,' and Spencer's 'Synthetic Philosophy.' Transferred from this little town to Tokyo, Ebina set himself to work for students in the district adjoining the Imperial University, where Greene heard him preach 'a most impressive discourse.' The third of these outstanding young men was Ise (afterwards better known as Yokoi, the original family name, to which he reverted). He succeeded Kozaki in the pastorate of one of the Tokyo churches and in the editing of the Christian periodicals already mentioned. Though he afterwards left the ministry, he was in his prime a remarkably eloquent speaker, in English as well as in his mother tongue.

Greene's relation to these pastors was not authoritative, except in a few matters involving the expenditure of mission funds, but rather that of friend and counselor. In one of his letters to Boston he denied that the word 'bishop' was in any

way suggestive of the relations which existed between the missionaries and the Japanese pastors: 'Whatever may be true in other mission fields, that word does not belong in our vocabulary.' Though some mistakes might result from lack of direction, the work was, he thought, 'far better done than if a foreigner were to attempt to keep the church and its pastor in leading strings. . . . Our advice is generally sought when it is needed and is generally estimated at its full value.' He observed with satisfaction that of thirty-eight organized churches only four received financial aid from the mission.

Greene's correspondence, like that of his colleagues generally, was at this time distinctly optimistic. In 1884, he wrote home: 'The whole country is in a state of great expectancy. The minds not of Christians only, but of all classes seem to be directed in a wonderful way toward Christianity. High government officials, even members of the cabinet, though apparently without any personal interest in the Christian religion, are reported to be anxious to see it spread in Japan.' A few months later, he was equally hopeful: 'The Government is becoming more and more favorable to Christianity, and frowns upon everything which looks like opposition. I am even afraid it is too friendly, and that by its endeavors to help us it may induce an unhealthy growth of our churches.' He was impressed with the number of influential laymen in a single Tokyo church, among them the Vice-Minister of Justice, a professor of economics in the Imperial University, and 'an officer of the Supreme Court.'

Looking forward to the future of missionary service, Greene urged the need of an immediate and substantial reinforcement of the mission in order to take full advantage of the rising tide. He believed that the background of Christian experience which the missionary could bring was still much needed by the new converts, who were inevitably influenced in their ideas of social morality by traditions of quite a different sort. Before long, however, the situation would be differ-

ent: 'The time during which you can wisely send missionaries to Japan will soon be over. Every year which passes increases the difficulties which a young missionary must surmount.' The prestige which came with comparative ease to the pioneers would be acquired with increasing difficulty by newcomers and the Japanese Christians would be much less conscious of needs which the foreigner could supply. The chance of success would then be 'so small that any man not educated as a specialist would be extremely foolish to enter into it.'

While Greene emphasized the need of a sound general education for the new recruits, he was also anxious that their study of the Japanese language should be more effective than that of their predecessors and he advocated in their interest a more systematic course of training. In 1884, he sent to the Board a carefully prepared argument in favor of a 'fixed course of study,' emphasizing what he himself had lost because of the lack of such direction: 'I . . . am now in many respects less advanced than a new man might easily become in half the time I have spent in Japan.' He was impressed with the superiority in this respect of the British government service in the Far East, remarking that among the large number of 'student interpreters' on duty in Japan, there had been so far 'only one failure.' The showing of the missionaries was much less satisfactory: 'The number of missionaries who have failed to acquire even a respectable knowledge of the language is altogether out of proportion to the number of successful students.' The comparison might not be wholly fair to the missionaries, because the civil service group had been selected with special reference to their linguistic ability; but he believed that the superiority of the latter was largely due to 'the fixed course of study to which they are held by the knowledge that they must pass examinations in the studies of the course before they can secure promotion.' Many years later, the mission accepted Greene's view and a systematic linguistic course was prescribed for new members.

Believing that reinforcements must be sent promptly, Greene and his associates were naturally disturbed by conditions in the United States which interfered with recruiting for the missionary service. Unfortunately this decade of the eighties was marked by theological controversies which produced exactly that effect and the storm center for the time being was his own alma mater, Andover Theological Seminary.

The discussion first became serious in 1882, when the Board of Visitors of the Seminary, who were expected to guard the orthodoxy of the faculty, rejected a candidate for the Abbot Professorship of Christian Theology, in succession to the redoubtable Edwards Park. A little later two members of the faculty resigned rather than sign the prescribed creed, a ceremony required under the rules of the founders at five-year intervals. Several of their colleagues relied upon a looser construction of the creed and in 1883 founded the 'Andover Review' which became the most conspicuous organ of 'progressive orthodoxy,' as distinguished from Unitarianism on the one side, and the traditional 'New England theology,' on the other. This 'Andover theology' emphasized the social functions of the church, favored 'higher criticism' as against mechanical views of Biblical inspiration, and was generally sympathetic toward contemporary scientific thought. More or less accidentally, however, prominence was given to the doctrine of a 'future probation' after this life for those who had not known the Christian gospel.

The Andover 'heresies' were attacked by the orthodox party which, though on the whole stronger in the West than in the East, was vigorously led in New England by Henry M. Dexter, the editor of 'The Congregationalist.' The Seminary 'Visitors,' encouraged by Park himself from his retirement as emeritus professor, were again brought into action and the result was a legal process, which was finally carried up to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The specific issue was

whether certain professors including Greene's old teacher, Egbert C. Smyth, were so far heterodox as to require their removal. The 'Visitors' decided against Smyth, while passing no judgment on his colleagues; but the Supreme Court set aside the decision on a somewhat technical point. When an attempt was made later to reopen the case, the personnel of the Board of Visitors had changed and the case was dismissed. Meantime Andover graduates, asking ordination for service at home or abroad, were regarded with suspicion by orthodox examiners. One of the most strenuous champions of orthodoxy was the Home Secretary of the American Board, Edmund K. Alden, and it was soon understood that candidates for missionary service who were infected with the Andover heresies would not be accepted. In Alden's opinion, the 'future probation' idea would seriously weaken the missionary motive, and thus 'cut the nerve of missions.'

These developments were closely followed by the members of the Japan mission. They were not much interested in abstruse theological points; what troubled them was the loss of promising volunteers through the imposition of unnecessary tests. Early in 1887, Greene and another Andover alumnus signed an appeal to the graduating class of the seminary to consider the urgent needs of the Japanese field; but the attitude of the orthodox party in the Board seemed likely to make such an appeal quite ineffective. It was feared also that acrimonious theological disputes would have an unfortunate effect on the Japanese Christians.

Greene's reaction to the proceedings in Boston was at once apparent in his correspondence. In June, 1886, he wrote: 'We hear that the Andover and New Haven young men are not likely to be sent out because they are not sufficiently orthodox. I am extremely sorry. If my noble teacher, Prof. Smyth and those who agree with him are not thought fit to be missionaries of the American Board, a sad day has dawned upon our work.' Though his main concern was with the prac-

tical consequences, he made quite plain his sympathy with the Andover men on the larger issues. Referring to the question of Scriptural inspiration, he continued: 'Perhaps, I ought to say that I hold to all intents and purposes the same doctrine myself . . . my teaching in the school or out of it, must be founded on essentially the Andover doctrine, because it seems to me the only one which coincides with the facts of scripture.' He believed also that some of the most successful Japanese preachers held similar views and were, nevertheless, men of 'great zeal' and 'ardent piety.'

When in the autumn of 1886, the Board at its annual meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, appeared to approve the course taken by the Home Secretary and the conservative majority of the Prudential Committee, Greene was deeply disappointed. 'I have,' he wrote, 'little interest in the theological discussion as such. I would not spend five minutes time in trying to convert a Japanese friend who had accepted the theory of future probation, but would rather rejoice that he had found in it the belief for which so many in heathen lands have yearned.' As to the Japanese clergy, he was inclined to believe that nearly all were in sympathy with the Andover views: 'They cannot be moulded upon our pattern do what we will and we may as well make up our minds to that now as any time. Our main business as teachers in the school is not to tell the students what they ought to believe, but to cultivate in them such habits of study, and such an attitude of mind toward the Bible and religious truth as will enable them to settle these matters for themselves. . . . Pray do not let us be put to shame before a heathen people by the association of our beloved Board with bitterness and strife.' The controversy dragged on for several years and the attitude of the Japan mission was sharply criticized by some of the conservative leaders; but the Board finally adopted a more liberal policy.

The desire to avoid needless divisions also found expression

in Greene's continued support of the movement toward church union. The union movement of the seventies finally brought together several denominations of Calvinistic and Presbyterian antecedents in a single body, called the United Church of Christ in Japan, which abandoned the elaborate Calvinistic formularies of Heidelberg and Westminster for a comparatively simple creed. More restricted movements have since united Anglicans of different antecedents and brought about a similar union among the Baptists.

During the eighties, it seemed probable that another step toward Christian unity might be taken by combining the *Kumi-ai*, or 'Associated Churches,' formed under the auspices of the American Board, with the Presbyterian group already mentioned. Such a union would have brought together the two largest groups of Protestant Christians in Japan, perhaps three-fourths of the whole number at that time. Greene sympathized strongly with this new union movement, though not without some hesitation. In February, 1886, he reported 'a strong desire on the part of some on the Presbyterian side to bring about an organic union.' There was also some support for the movement among the *Kumi-ai* churches: 'How far such a union is desirable I am not sure, but if it grows up naturally and is based upon a wide-spread conviction on the part of our churches, I certainly should not wish to stand in the way.' He considered the proposals so far made sufficiently liberal in their recognition of the Congregational point of view; but some of his Japanese associates, including Neesima, seemed to be less sympathetic. After a conference with the Presbyterians in Tokyo about interdenominational relations in the northern city of Sendai, he reported that union could probably be secured, though it might be delayed and the missionaries on both sides were 'for the most part, resolved not to stand in the way but rather to help it on.' Soon, however, denominational partisans in the United States became alarmed and Greene thought it necessary to

point out that the Japanese Christians must settle the matter for themselves. He himself was now 'very certain that the advantages of Union would far outweigh the disadvantages.' He did not believe that missionary funds were meant 'to build up distinctively Congregational churches, but to have the Gospel preached in sincerity and truth,' leaving the Japanese 'to choose for themselves the form of organization which is, on the whole, the most acceptable to them.' 'If our Japanese brethren were made of putty, we could mould them into any shape, but as it is, there is no use in making believe they are putty. Any attempt to force our polity on them in its entirety would work great mischief.'

One aspect of this discussion, now of purely academic interest, throws light on a curious phase of Japanese opinion. In 1884, the distinguished liberal leader, Fukuzawa, suggested the desirability of Japan entering 'the comity of Christian nations.' 'I do not,' he said, 'mean that a majority of our countrymen should be Christians. A small number, one in a hundred will be sufficient. All that is required is the assumption of the title of a Christian country. The steps necessary for the Christianization of the country are to register the creed of Japanese Christians, permit the conduct of funeral ceremonies by missionaries, and gradually introduce baptism among the upper and middle classes.' This statement is all the more striking because the writer was a conspicuous critic of Christianity. Greene evidently had some such views in mind when he suggested in June, 1886, that the Government might have 'plans of its own' in relation to Christianity. 'If it has, it will probably not pin its faith to any of the denominations now at work in Japan but will try to import from somewhere, most likely from Germany, a batch of men by means of whom some sort of a league will be made with one or more sects of Buddhism with a view of establishing a state religion. . . . It may be nothing more than our imagination. Still we are anxious. The government likes to have its finger

in every pie which is cooked in Japan, and it will be pretty much a miracle if it keeps them out of ecclesiastical affairs.' The proposed church union would, he thought, be an effective barrier against 'such a governmental machine.'

In the spring of 1887, the union movement was advanced by conferences in Tokyo and the appointment of committees representing the two denominations. Greene was a member of the *Kumi-ai* committee with four associates, all Japanese, of whom three were Doshisha graduates and the fourth his old friend, Matsuyama. The missionary member of the Presbyterian committee was also a personal friend. In reporting these proceedings, he pleaded for sympathetic consideration: 'We bespeak for this movement the kindly sympathy of all friends of Japan. It is along lines my honored father suggested when I was but a lad. I believe it will be found to be a useful organization, within the Presbyterian genus, no doubt; but embodying some useful points from our system. Do not condemn us too hastily.' The union question was not wholly unrelated to current theological controversies. 'I do not know,' Greene wrote in the spring of 1887, 'how far I shall have the sympathy of the friends at the Missionary Rooms, when I point to the liberality of the creed subscription as interpreted by the accompanying letter, with no little satisfaction. There was the utmost frankness on our part and while some are anxious less [lest] the Andover controversy, so called should come through this loose creed subscription, the great majority are enthusiastically in favor of the arrangement.'

Before the issue was finally determined, Greene left the country on a furlough, but he did what he could to help the cause in America. Some leading denominational papers were unfriendly to the union movement, including 'The Congregationalist,' whose editor, H. M. Dexter, was the leading authority on the history of Congregationalism. Some officers of the Board held similar views. In 1888, Greene wrote from

Germany, where he was spending a few months, denouncing as 'thoroughly unjust' a statement in 'The Congregationalist' to the effect that the Union would be 'practically an absorption of the Congregationalists by the Presbyterians.' 'Dr. Dexter,' he thought was 'mentally incapacitated for passing a fair judgment on such a question.' He insisted that the pending proposals were 'a fair compromise between the two denominations.' Greene also criticized the Prudential Committee for its '*ex officio* advice on the union question. It is confessedly an undenominational society, but its interference was in pursuance of a sectarian purpose.'

In a long letter to a prominent member of the American Board, Greene gave a careful exposition of various features of the plan; the freedom of each church to adopt such internal machinery as it saw fit; certain precedents for the proposed organization in the Congregational 'Consociations' of Connecticut; and finally the careful limitation of appeals from the disciplinary jurisdiction of the local churches. The movement was, he repeated, a Japanese affair; the missionaries 'came in only to aid in giving direction to the movement, though some of them became, myself among the number, very enthusiastic in its favor.' Another reason for union was the mobility of population which made difficult any geographical division between denominations. Above all, Congregationalism was not an end in itself. 'God knows there is too much ecclesiasticism in all branches of the church. I do not believe, though I claim to be a lover of Congregationalism, that Congregationalism has any such claim upon me that I may not judge it by the criterion of expediency.'

The outcome was disappointing. American sectarianism was sufficiently demonstrative to disturb some of the Japanese leaders, including Neesima, who feared that union might alienate important elements in America whose support was needed for such enterprises as the Doshisha. Some Japanese Christians also were influenced by the feeling that Presbyter-

ianism laid more stress on the distinction between clergy and laity and was therefore less democratic than the Congregational practice. Finally it was argued that the looser Congregational organization was more favorable to liberty of opinion. So union was defeated. Greene's feeling at the time was that of his friend Gordon, who declared that the failure of this union 'was regarded by most of the missionaries and Japanese leaders as a great calamity, not to say sin. It costs the Christians of America thousands of dollars annually; the spiritual losses are immeasurable.' Greene was not, however, inclined to waste his energies in fruitless regrets and the catholic spirit which led him to support the movement toward organic union, found expression in other forms of coöperation.

With all his varied responsibilities, Greene continued to find time for study and reflection on matters outside the routine of mission service. In a letter to one of his sisters in November, 1885, about his possible transfer to Tokyo, he frankly confesses his keen interest in politics. 'In itself considered, it is pleasant to live nearer the center of things, especially to me who am something of a politician and enjoy a little wholesome meddling with public affairs.'

The question of treaty revision already mentioned was still a live issue. The Japanese resented the limitations imposed on their customs duties, and the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the consular courts. The foreigners, on the other hand, whether missionaries or merchants, desired greater freedom of travel and residence outside of the treaty ports. Both sides really stood to gain by a reasonable compromise but extremists blocked the way. Foreign merchants clung to their advantages under the conventional tariffs, and to their immunity from Japanese jurisdiction, while ardent Japanese nationalists were disposed to wreck any compromise which left their country in an inferior status as compared with other powers. Count Inouye and Count Okuma, who pre-

sided in succession over the foreign office, held numerous conferences with Western diplomats; but one proposal after another was rejected, and when, in 1889, Count Okuma succeeded in negotiating compromise treaties, they were met by an outburst of popular feeling. Okuma himself barely escaped death at the hands of an assassin and the cabinet was forced to resign.

Greene's increasing sympathy with the Japanese point of view, especially on the issue of extraterritoriality, has already been described; and during the decade of the eighties, the problem was very much in his mind. In April, 1884, he discussed the subject at length in an address read before an interdenominational missionary conference at Osaka, and afterwards published in pamphlet form. In this address he conceded that extraterritorial jurisdiction was necessary and desirable in the early years of foreign intercourse; but he pointed out the injustice of perpetuating it under new and vastly different conditions. Foreign governments, insisting on the immunity of their nationals from the jurisdiction of the Japanese courts and police, had often failed to provide any adequate control of their own. In effect also, any foreign government could, under the treaties as commonly interpreted, virtually exercise a veto on legislative or administrative regulations of the Japanese Government. This had actually been done in several instances, notably in the case of harbor and quarantine regulations. It was possible, further, for foreigners to establish, within their premises, practical immunity, not only for themselves, but also for Japanese offenders against the law of the land. That was true of lotteries and other questionable establishments in the foreign concessions. 'It is no answer,' he added, 'to say that there are places just as bad in the native town. If there are we are not responsible for them. It would be better to be marched to the police station every day than to have it thrown in one's face, and with justice, that the liberty that we insist upon is one that fosters gambling hells, gin mills, and brothels.'

Not the least serious aspect of the subject, for one who had come to have a genuine sympathy with the people among whom he lived, was the loss of prestige to which these abuses subjected the Japanese Government. Others might call this a 'sentimental' consideration. 'No advocate,' however, 'of a just and righteous course will be troubled by the fear of being called a sentimentalist, he will rather pride himself on it. The number of those who realize the importance of sentimental considerations is larger than in former years. He is a poor statesman who makes light of them.'

As to the special significance of this issue for the missionary group, Greene had comparatively little to say. Speaking for himself and his associates he declared that they desired no 'special privileges.' 'They are anxious, however, . . . to see the religion they preach disassociated from a system which they believe, in its present form certainly, to be unjust and oppressive. They are jealous of the good name of those Christian lands under whose protection they live. . . . They look forward to and pray for the coming of the time when the Christian conscience of those lands shall assert itself and refuse to tolerate the oppression of the weak by the strong; when it shall force the governments of those lands to despise gain bought at the expense of honor; when the great influence of those lands shall be used to protect the weak, and to put down injustice and wrong; when all lands which are called by Christ's name shall be crowned with the "greatness of justice."'

Recognizing some of the difficulties which had delayed treaty revision, he pointed out that the Japanese had already done much, and were ready to do more, to remove reasonable objections to the enforcement of their jurisdiction over foreigners. The new civil and criminal codes embodied to a large extent the best theory and practice of Continental Europe; they seemed to be working well and the Japanese Government was willing to go farther still by appointing for-

eign judges to deal with cases in which foreigners were involved. Greene was inclined especially to emphasize the importance of concessions to those foreigners who were accustomed to the traditions of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

Two years earlier, in drafting replies to a series of questions put by the American lecturer, Joseph Cook, Greene had summed up the issue from the point of view of his own mission: 'To the majority of our mission it seems that the real injury to the Japanese Government is out of all proportion to the advantages which the foreigners enjoy, and they would gladly see the treaties abrogated to-morrow and the Japanese Government assume jurisdiction over resident foreigners as fully as the United States does over similar persons within her own domain. It is not to be supposed that the change could be inaugurated without inconvenience, but it seems fitting that the inconvenience should fall upon the comparatively few foreigners and not upon the nation of Japan.'

Greene's views were not altogether popular among the foreign residents. Referring to a recent editorial in the 'Japan Herald' criticizing his utterances, he wrote: 'I was not a little amused to see the indignation expressed.' The attitude of the writer seemed to him typical of a large part of the foreign community, 'including some really good men whose opinions on many, perhaps most, subjects I greatly respect. The strength of the anti-Japanese bias among the foreign residents you can hardly imagine. It is, however, less formidable than formerly and the pro-Japanese side has already made some valuable converts.' He was willing to admit that he might have overstated the Japanese case, and he invited criticism. He feared, however, with too much reason, that American interest in the subject would be too slight to draw out much comment in the press.

During this period, Greene found himself on the whole in sympathy with the attitude of the United States Government as represented, first by Bingham, and then, under the Cleve-

land administration, by Hubbard. Both held more liberal views of Japanese rights than did most of the European diplomatists. When Bingham's twelve years of service were ended, in 1885, Greene joined his colleagues in a cordial tribute to the retiring minister and also stated to Secretary Clark some reasons for such recognition:

'He has given the American name a prestige it never had before in Japan and he has brought this about through means thoroughly honorable to him and to our Government.

'He has bravely combated the ultra-commercial spirit which too often rules in these Asiatic ports . . . and has steadily asserted the common sense principle that all rights not conferred upon the citizens or subjects of the treaty powers by express treaty stipulations are reserved by Japan.

'He has resisted manfully the so-called coöperative policy by which the strong nations of the West unite to bully and oppress the weaker nations of the East. His name has become almost a synonym for honor and justice in the mouths of the intelligent classes of this empire.

'He has frequently expressed a high estimate of the value of the work of Christian missionaries in Japan.'

Writing to one of his sisters Greene expressed himself more informally and noted some of Bingham's limitations. Apologizing for the 'tedious garrulity' of his own letter, he remarked that it was 'almost equal to that of Judge Bingham himself. He beats the Dutch in this line.' Yet even in the freedom of private correspondence, he was careful to make clear his respect for a high-minded public servant. 'Mr. Bingham and I were good friends. He was perhaps a little too much of a miso-Briton, but he was one of the few men in public life whom I have met out here, who have not yielded themselves up body and soul to the demon of commerce which rules in the open ports of Japan and China. He understood thoroughly that the commercial interests of the U.S. were not by any means coextensive with the interests of the

few American merchants here, and may at times be in direct opposition to those private interests. He was a good minister.'

Another subject in which Greene kept up an active interest was the American consular service. Of a recent appointee to an important consular post requiring, especially in those days of extraterritorial jurisdiction, some knowledge of law, he observed that the man 'did not know enough to take the acknowledgement of a deed.' Yet he had to act as judge in a 'court before which civil cases of great importance are liable at any time to be brought, the appeal from which is difficult and expensive' and might even be called upon to pass sentence at a murder trial; 'yet he makes it his boast that the only thing he knows, is how to play poker.' The preceding incumbent of the consulate was, he thought, a good official 'but a bad man'; his successor might be 'a few shades better morally,' but was 'a totally unfit man for his place.' Not content with mere criticism of individuals he urged a thorough reconstruction of the system. 'I have,' he wrote, 'a scheme for consular reform that I think of writing out. The service in Eastern Asia, in spite of some good men in it, is not a credit to our government. I have grave doubts whether the larger consulates like those at Shanghai and Yokohama can be honestly administered on the appropriations made by Congress. . . . No sporadic investigations will do much to remedy the evil. The true remedy must be in the organization of a new consular service on strict business principles like the admirable one Great Britain has.'

Ability to appreciate Japanese points of view was the natural result of long residence in the country and of acquaintance with people of all classes, including some representative public men. An intimate friend of Greene's old pupil Sawayama, was successively vice-governor of Osaka and governor of Nagasaki; the new governor at Kyoto was considered distinctly friendly. Count Inouye's interest in the

Doshisha has been mentioned, and in 1885 Greene reported a visit from a still more distinguished personage:

'Count Ito, the President of the Imperial Household and the ablest man in the Japanese Government, visited our school the other day. Some of us called on him a few days later. He received us very cordially and we conversed with him for fifteen or twenty minutes. He and Count Inouye stand very high in the estimation of the foreign friends of Japan.

'Their recent diplomatic services in China and Corea show them to be men of broad statesmanship and worthy of the high positions they occupy. Count Ito is said to be the son of a village mayor, a farmer's boy who was early adopted into the family of one of the inferior retainers of the Prince of Choshu. He is now second to no man in all Japan in point of influence.'

CHAPTER XI

EAST AND WEST, 1887–1890 — GERMANY IN THE EIGHTIES

NEAR the end of the year 1887, Greene took a second furlough, hastened by the serious ill-health of his wife; and this time he took the homeward journey by way of Europe with a somewhat prolonged stay in Germany. He hoped that this change of scene would be helpful to Mrs. Greene; but his later correspondence emphasizes the fact that Japanese thinking, on religious, as well as scientific and political, subjects, had been considerably influenced by prevailing modes of thought in Germany. A better understanding of these intellectual forces seemed to him, therefore, a highly desirable, if not essential, part of his equipment. It seemed possible also that the European route, with some months of the comparatively inexpensive housekeeping possible in Germany, would not add materially to the cost of his furlough. Attractive as the plan was in prospect and full of interest in the retrospect, it was a formidable undertaking for a large family, including seven children. Though accomplished at what would, even then have been considered an extraordinarily low cost, the actual expenditures exceeded the estimate sufficiently to cause serious anxiety.

The voyage to Hongkong followed the usual course, through the beautiful Inland Sea and the Straits of Shimonoseki, to Nagasaki, with its memories of the old Dutch traders and of the Japanese Christians who had suffered martyrdom for their faith. From Nagasaki they had a stormy voyage across the China Sea, with its inevitable trials for a family who were not 'good sailors.' At Hongkong, they were transferred from the P. and O. steamer, Teheran, to the

Mirzapore of the same line. The long journey from Hongkong to Brindisi was broken at several points. At Singapore, they stopped long enough to enjoy the tropical fruits and gardens besides attending the service at the English Cathedral. After a day at Penang, on the western side of the Malay Peninsula, they crossed to Colombo, another tropical city with sharp contrasts of wealth and poverty — imposing residence streets and crowding beggars, picturesque shops and carts with palm-leaf covers. Passing up the Malabar coast to Bombay, Greene had some interesting conversations with Major Tucker, chief of the Indian division of the Salvation Army, who seemed to him 'a very intelligent man,' with 'great executive ability — at all events the organization of their work shows that somebody has that ability.' At Bombay, there was a week's stop with opportunities for sight-seeing and some observation of missionary work. Two weeks more brought them through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal to Brindisi.

Somewhat less than seven weeks were spent in Italy — four days at Naples, with an excursion to Pompeii; nearly four weeks in Rome; a little less than a week each at Florence and Venice. In Rome, the family of nine set up housekeeping in a small apartment where the total family expenses were kept down to the modest sum of $7 gold per day. From this temporary home on the Via del Babuino, between the Piazza d'Espagna and the Piazza del Popolo, they carried through an ambitious programme of sight-seeing in which the children did their share.

Mrs. Greene's journal shows that her Puritan inheritance did not prevent enjoyment of what was beautiful and impressive in Pagan and Catholic Rome. She was deeply moved by her first visit to the Lateran Church, mentioning particularly the beauty of one of the chapels and her pleasure in the music. One Sunday, having attended the morning service at the Scottish Presbyterian Church, she went with

her husband to the Lateran again and 'heard some beautiful singing there.' The frescoes of the church of San Stefano commemorating the early Christian martyrs also moved her deeply and she thought it quite natural that 'these Catholics of Rome, descendants of these who suffered so much for their faith in Christ, should still continue in the church of their fathers.'

There were some discordant notes, however. Calling one day at the home of the Scottish Presbyterian pastor, the Greenes met an American who was 'death on the Pope and everything Catholic.' A few days before they had heard a Catholic sermon in English. They thought the sermon good but were 'naturally grieved to learn that the Catholic Church was the only true one,' and to have the preacher contrast the success of its missionary work with the 'barren and sterile' efforts of others.

Antiquities were not taken so seriously as to prevent a keen interest in contemporary life. There was the lively scene at the market where the country people sold their fruit and vegetables in the bright sunlight; how would they 'get on in rainy weather of which we have so much?' There were pleasant concerts also in the Pincian gardens — much more interesting to one active small boy than long galleries lined with famous paintings. The children were charmed by the music, and the crowds were not the least part of the attraction. Greene himself noted with sympathy the achievements of the new régime. Impressive as were the historic associations of Rome he was interested also in 'the new life which has been infused into it under the influence of the present free and enlightened government. I think I have at least the average interest in art and antiquarian lore, but I have not one spark of sympathy with such men as Hare who would like to condemn the modern people to narrow streets and dark cave-like houses that their city might be preserved as a sort of curiosity shop for the rest of the world.'

In the early spring the family traveled from Italy, by way of Vienna, to Breslau, where they settled down for nearly five months. They had chosen this provincial capital of Silesia after consultation with Greene's German-American colleague, Albrecht, whose sisters were living there. Largely through the good offices of one of these Albrecht sisters the Greenes could feel themselves at home and in an atmosphere of genuine friendliness. Fortunately, too, expenses could be kept decidedly below the corresponding American level. Some current prices may be of interest. The total living expenses of the family for over nineteen weeks were a little less than $600 including rent, food, fuel, light, washing, and taxes. Leaving out the taxes — not altogether negligible — this meant a family expenditure of about four dollars a day. Service was surprisingly inexpensive. An experienced sewing-woman gave domestic service for one mark a day — from eight in the morning till eight in the evening, with some intermissions for refreshments.

Here in Breslau, the family could settle down to a normal domestic life. There were German readings, with the help of a Jewish 'proselyte' who came in as a teacher; also friendly meetings with neighbors, in private houses or in pleasant parks where the Americans had their coffee and 'the Germans took their accustomed glass of beer.' Mrs. Greene, especially, enjoyed the opportunities for hearing and studying music of which she hoped to take advantage in her work for the Japanese.

The religious life of Germany was naturally a subject of interest; for the German Protestants had recently begun missionary work in Japan and Japanese students were numerous in Germany. One Breslau church was the Calvinistic *Hofkirche*, to which the Greenes went one Sunday in midsummer, finding it 'rather empty' and 'quite cellar-like.' A few days later they received a friendly call from the pastor and his wife which they presently returned, finding a cordial re-

ception and regretting that the acquaintance had not been made earlier. They also attended some services in the Moravian Church, whose pastor was said to be the most popular preacher in Breslau. One Sunday they found it 'packed full,' but observed that there, as in all the European churches they had visited, the congregation was composed chiefly of women. They became most familiar, however, with the Elizabeth-Kirche where they enjoyed the music and were presently able to follow Pastor Schwartz's sermons.

Especially helpful in extending Greene's acquaintance in religious circles was Pastor Becker, a devoted missionary to the Jews, who could speak English, and with his wife proved most hospitable. Of two other pastors, Greene observed that they were reputed to be 'earnest Christian men' and 'much interested in missions.' He attended two meetings devoted to missions and spoke at one of them about Japan.

At Breslau and later at Berlin, he was reminded of the marked cleavage, even among those interested in missions, between the conservatives and the liberals or radicals; the latter were the more conspicuous among the German missionaries in Japan. Professor Cassel, a 'most conservative' theologian at Berlin, told Greene that the liberals were 'well-meaning men,' but that 'unhappily a man could not give what he did not have in him.' Cassel had taken special interest in the welfare of Japanese students and some prominent laymen in one of the *Kumi-ai* churches of Tokyo had received their religious instruction from him. Though Greene himself was not an unbending conservative, he hoped the Germans would send to their missions men of an 'evangelical,' or, in the German phrase, *positiv* type.

On the whole, Greene was a discriminating, but not unsympathetic, critic of German Protestantism. A few weeks after his arrival in Breslau, he wrote that prevalent American opinion on the state of religion among the German people 'does something less than justice to the people of this region.'

He found the church services impressive, and observed that the conventional tests of religious interest might not be conclusive: 'The religious life does not find expression in the same way as with us, and many things are to be seen which with us would clearly mean indifference to religion, but I think it is a mistake to infer that meaning here.'

One attractive feature of life in Breslau was the University, with its library of which Greene was able to make some use. Pleasant social relations were also established with two members of the faculty. Professor Hillebrandt, who lectured on Sanskrit and apparently valued the opportunity to cultivate his English, introduced Greene to the privileges of the University reading room. Especially cordial were Professor Grünhagen and his wife. Grünhagen, 'a jolly old man' who took a great interest in one of Greene's boys, was director of the provincial archives of Silesia. His young wife, who had spent a year in England and spoke English with some ease, invited Mrs. Greene to read German with her; one book which they read together was Goethe's 'Dichtung und Wahrheit.'

One interesting social experience was the forming of an acquaintance with the household of Count von Pückler, at whose country seat near Breslau the Greenes spent a delightful day in August. The Count was 'perhaps the leading nobleman in Silesia,' a 'personal friend of Count Moltke,' and a man of strong religious interests, which his wife shared. The family included, beside the Count and the Countess, their son and a Russian daughter-in-law. All but the old Count spoke English, 'the young Count like a native-born Englishman.' The visitors had a pleasant glimpse of life on a country estate and naturally were pleased by the interest which the family showed in Japan and in the Christian movement there.

Though not able to spend much time in other parts of Germany, Greene and his wife visited in the course of a two-

weeks tour, Prag, Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin. Prag appealed to them as a place of unique interest and they were especially impressed by the persistent devotion of the Bohemian people to the memory of John Huss. Under the auspices of an American Board mission there he gave a talk about Japan to a Bohemian congregation. Another vivid memory of their stay at Prag was their visit to the old Jewish synagogue and cemetery. At Leipzig, through the courtesy of Dr. Gregory, a son-in-law of his old teacher, J. H. Thayer, he saw something of the University group, to which Gregory belonged. He called on Delitsch and afterwards attended an academic funeral. Though he had difficulty in following the exercises, he was glad 'to see the faces and hear the voices of men whose names have long been familiar to me.' Incidentally he was impressed by the prolonged speech-making. He had thought of the Japanese as somewhat addicted to this particular form of indulgence; 'but after standing up for two hours at the mortuary chapel and listening to seven addresses, I shall be more tender of my judgments of them.'

At Berlin Greene visited the University and heard a few lectures. He had much on his mind the Japanese students in Germany and called at the Japanese legation where he gathered some information, as he did also from Professor Cassel. The latter thought well of the Japanese he had met, who seemed to him 'very open to religious impressions,' but commonly led astray by the attitude of their University teachers. 'If,' Greene wrote, 'we can gain a considerable share of the Japanese students in Germany, it will go far to neutralize the anti-Christian influences which many are now carrying back to Japan with them. I suspect that even in Germany, the worst influence abroad is that of worldliness; it is not the supernaturalism which troubles men so much as the demands which spiritual Christianity makes upon them in the line of self sacrifice and activity.'

1888 was a notable date in Germany, 'the year of the three

emperors.' William I, the founder of the new empire, died while the Greenes were in Italy; then came the short reign of the liberal Frederick whose painful illness they followed with keen interest and sympathy; and finally the accession of William II. During their short visit to Berlin the young Emperor delivered his opening address to the Reichstag. They read his speech and 'thought it a very good one.' They were also 'so happy as to see Count von Moltke and Bismarck' coming away from that opening session. 'The people showed much enthusiasm as Moltke passed by, but it was as nothing compared to the emotions they manifested as they called out, "Bismarck! Bismarck!" and it seemed as if they could scarcely restrain themselves from jumping into the street.' Two months later, they saw the young Emperor again in Dresden, driving with King Albert of Saxony through great crowds and brilliantly decorated streets.

German militarism impressed the Greenes as it did many other Americans. Their landlady in Leipzig, a widow who had lived in America, regretted having brought her children back to Germany, especially as the boys approached the age of military service. 'The army,' Mrs. Greene wrote in her journal, 'is before anything else in this country. It is sad to see how much must be sacrificed to maintain its dignity.'

They were struck also by the paternalism of the Government and the minuteness of police supervision. Commenting on a case in which a clergyman of the established Church was refused permission to officiate at a funeral because the body was to be cremated, Mrs. Greene remarked: 'This government is quite too paternal to be satisfactory to an American, although the Germans seem to think it about as near perfect as any human government can be.' All in all, however, their memories of Breslau and the hospitality of its people were distinctly pleasant and they left their new friends with much regret.

Late in August, they broke up their little establishment

and set out by way of Dresden, Frankfort, Cologne, and Brussels to London, taking time enough at Eisenach to visit the Wartburg and other places associated with Luther. After a short visit to London, they took a Liverpool steamer and on September 24th were back in Boston again.

A few days later the family had taken a house at Auburndale, within easy reach of Boston, and of Cambridge where their oldest son, now with them for the first time in seven years, was beginning his work at Harvard. There were excellent school facilities also for the younger children.

The year together naturally meant much both to parents and children for the missionary family must accept the necessity of comparatively early separations, and in this case three sons and one daughter were soon to be left behind. College education was taken for granted but ways and means had to be worked out. In all this experience, there was much to be happily remembered but much also to cause anxiety. Unfortunately the months of travel had not done as much for Mrs. Greene as her husband hoped, and more radical treatment became necessary, bringing with it financial burdens so serious that he reluctantly considered the possibility of leaving the missionary service. Happily the clouds gradually cleared away. Mrs. Greene recovered her health; there was generous help from relatives and friends; and new evidence of appreciation from the officers of the Board enabled him once more to face the future with confidence.

These personal problems did not, however, occupy him to the exclusion of other claims. His appointment as Hyde Lecturer on Missions at Andover Theological Seminary enabled him to set forth his ideas about missionary aims and methods. He had to meet also some hostile criticism of the work in his own field, especially from certain Unitarian critics and from a Japanese writer. The chief point of the attack was the claim that Christian missions had failed to impress seriously 'the mind and thought of the educated classes'; and

the subject was taken up editorially in the 'Boston Herald.' Greene answered these criticisms in two communications of which one was published in the 'Boston Herald' of September 16, 1889, and the other in the 'Boston Evening Transcript' of September 28th. Recalling the fact that nearly half the entire membership of the churches associated with his own mission was drawn from the *samurai* class, he referred to such a situation as that in a single *Kumi-ai* church in Tokyo, which had among its members a judge of the Supreme Court, a professor in the Imperial University, and three Government secretaries. He also noted the presence in each of four prefectural assemblies, including those of Tokyo and Kyoto, of two or more Christian members. As against the claim that missionaries were too much occupied with the 'damnatory part' of the Christian religion, he called attention to the work of the Doshisha, and particularly to the endorsement which that institution had received from such representative men as Ito, Inouye, and Okuma.

Characteristic of Greene's contribution to this discussion was his frank recognition of the fact that missionary service furnished only 'one of several channels through which the influence of Christianity is flowing out to Japan.' He was ready, for himself and his colleagues, to acknowledge gratefully 'whatever serves to hold up the Christian ideas of individual and social life.' He took satisfaction also in the admission by one hostile critic that missions in Japan had 'resulted in elevating the character of the Buddhist priesthood' who were 'everywhere put upon their mettle, with the result of a notable gain to the cause of public morality.' It seemed to Greene that 'this indirect fruit' of mission work might even be more important than the direct results commonly measured by church statistics. For himself he was free to say that the great end of missionary work was 'to build up pure and Christ-like character.' The conciliatory temper in which Greene tried to carry on such discussions may be illustrated by the closing paragraph of his 'Herald' letter:

'So far as our Unitarian friends go to Japan to take up the work of social reform with the earnestness and zeal manifested in other movements by so many of their faith, whose names we all hold in honor, we shall welcome their coming and bid them good speed. There is a vast work to be done, let them not depreciate the labors of others not less earnest, perhaps not less intelligent, than they. The very suddenness of the change which has come over Japan has brought special dangers with it. Let none of us ignore these dangers, but meet them squarely, acknowledging their magnitude and our need of a wisdom which is near to humility.'

The Andover controversy described in the last chapter was still a disturbing factor, partly because the frank utterances of Greene and some of his colleagues gave offense to conservative officers and members of the American Board. A few weeks before leaving Japan, he had protested against the apparent disposition of the latter to check free discussion on the part of missionaries: 'I am not willing,' he wrote, 'to admit that the Committee has any right to set up any standard for theological speculation other than that of the churches which support the Board.' During his year at home he wrote, in answer to a friendly letter from Secretary Clark urging greater caution in discussing these topics: 'I shall always be sorry to grieve you and other friends, but I am ready to meet any complications that may arise; even to the extent of giving up my missionary work, though that would be no easy thing to do. Certainly I would resign rather than consent to have the committee put any bridle upon me.'

Meantime some of the Andover liberals and their sympathizers suggested that, since young men of their way of thinking were barred from service under the American Board, they might be sent out by some independent agency. In response to an inquiry from Professor Smyth of Andover, Greene suggested the opening of a new station to which such missionaries might be sent, with the expectation that there would be

informal coöperation between them and the regularly commissioned representatives of the Board. In 1888, this idea took definite shape through the action of the Berkeley Street Church in Boston which commissioned the Reverend W. H. Noyes, then serving as one of its assistant pastors, as an independent missionary to Japan. The new missionary was expected to work in consultation with the American Board missionaries and more particularly with Greene himself. On this basis, Noyes proceeded to Japan and carried on his work until 1893 when, the controversy having subsided, he was regularly appointed by the Board.

Though frequently consulted by the promoters of the Berkeley Street plan, Greene realized the delicacy of the situation, in view of his own official connection with the Board; and declined to participate in the exercises by which Noyes was set apart for his own work. 'If I should go,' he wrote to Noyes, 'I could not do otherwise than speak my views (this goes without saying) in case reference should be made to the attitude of our mission, and this would reopen the sore which time has nearly healed.' He went on to say, however, in the same letter: 'I cannot tell you how deeply I sympathize with you or how ready I shall always be to render you such aid as is in my power.'

With his Japanese associates who came to America on one errand or another, Greene was naturally in close touch. A young colleague in the Doshisha, Mr. Shimomura, then preparing himself for a professorship of chemistry in that institution, received from him sympathetic advice. When a young Tokyo pastor came to America to ask for help in building a church at a strategic point in that city, Greene supported the appeal in the face of some official criticism, believing the circumstances so exceptional as to justify a departure from the general policy of putting the responsibility for such enterprises on the Japanese themselves. He urged especially the importance of supporting a man who had given

convincing evidence of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause. Meantime, he was corresponding with Neesima about the effort then being made to secure an enlarged endowment for the Doshisha; and when, in the same year, 1889, Mr. J. N. Harris, of New London, Connecticut, made much the largest contribution so far obtained for the school, Greene was again appealed to for advice respecting this gift.

Interested as he was in the work at Kyoto, he was convinced that Tokyo was the place in which he could render the best service. This was also the judgment of the mission, and after some hesitation the Board approved the proposed transfer. The argument which apparently counted most heavily with him in favor of going to Tokyo, is indicated in his memorandum of January, 1889. He believed that the legal and social reforms then under way in Japan touched the missionary work at many points, and that he had gained 'a little influence in that department.' In other words, he had come to feel that he might make a real contribution to the great task of relating the Christian movement in a helpful way to the general social and political development of the Empire. From that point of view, the capital city in which the first national representative assembly was about to meet offered a unique opportunity.

By the spring of 1890, both Greene and his wife were ready to go back to their work. Near the end of March, they sailed from San Francisco and, proceeding by way of Honolulu, on the O. and O. steamer, Belgic, reached Yokohama on April 10th. The voyage of eighteen days, including the stop at Honolulu which was for them a new and delightful experience, was said to be the shortest then on record by that route. About a month later they were establishing themselves in Tokyo which was to be their home for the rest of their lives.

CHAPTER XII

TOKYO IN THE NINETIES

The city of Tokyo, to which the Greenes were returning a little more than twenty years after their first visit, illustrated in many ways the mingling of the ancient East with the modern spirit of the West. At the heart of the city still stood the great enclosure of the imperial palace, enclosed, as in the old days, by its broad moat and massive walls, with picturesque gates at the approaches from various directions. About this central area the administrative divisions of the city formed a rough circle, each with its subordinate municipal organization, its special name, and a certain individuality of its own. Within these main divisions, again, there were particular neighborhoods or streets whose names often recalled those of feudal magnates resident there in Tokugawa times.

In this city of magnificent distances, there were still many places where the old order survived with little outward change. In the southwest was the impressive temple area of Shiba Park with its Buddhist shrines dedicated to the memory of departed Tokugawa Shoguns and to the northward, in Ueno, were other tombs of the same dynasty. The two-sworded *samurai* of 1869 and 1870 were gone, with the feudal society to which they belonged; but their traditions were not wholly forgotten. Mrs. Greene wrote in her journal how, on a round of visits to friends in Tokyo, she passed with her husband the temple grounds where the 'Forty-seven *Ronin*' were buried. Attracted by the celebration going on there, they entered the enclosure and saw the graves of 'the brave men,' who in obedience to the *samurai* code had committed *hara kiri*, after avenging the death of their liege lord. Even in the heart of the city, on busy streets given over to shops, with their picturesque combination of domesticity and business, there was still much to remind one of the old régime.

Nevertheless, there were also the outward marks of great and indeed revolutionary changes. Close to the imperial palace, modernized government departments were housed in buildings of Western design, and Western influence was gradually asserting itself elsewhere in a new type of business establishment. Foreign dress had been generally adopted for civilian and military uniforms, and though a large majority still held to the distinctive costumes of the country, the use of foreign clothing, in whole or in part, was sufficiently common to save the Japanese wearer from being awkwardly conspicuous. Newcomers in Tokyo found shops 'devoted almost entirely to foreign dry goods'; one of them was the 'London and Paris Store' and another the 'European Palace.' Besides the *jinrikisha*, itself a comparatively recent invention, there were now numerous omnibuses and horse-cars, the latter to be superseded before long by electric tramways. Tokyo was not only the political capital and a commercial center, but also the chief educational center of the Empire. The Imperial University attracted young men from all over the country; and there were numerous other establishments for higher education, both public and private, including the Waseda and Keio Universities, founded respectively by Count Okuma and the great educational leader, Fukuzawa.

The foreign colony of Tokyo still consisted largely of the three elements which the Greenes had found, though in much smaller numbers, on their first visit — members of the foreign diplomatic services, teachers in public or private educational institutions, and missionaries. The chief business houses were still at Yokohama, though in the next decade the number of foreign mercantile establishments in Tokyo was considerably increased. In the early years of the Meiji Era the foreign residents had been largely concentrated in the waterfront district of Tsukiji; but during the nineties, an increasing number of them were living in distinctly Japanese neighborhoods, widely scattered through the city.

NIJU-BASHI AND SEIMON, IMPERIAL PALACE, TOKYO

For a few months, the Greenes were temporarily quartered in the district of Azabu which occupies comparatively high ground in the western part of the city. Mrs. Greene noted among the attractions of the place a pleasant Japanese garden and 'a little bit of a sea view from the verandah.' In the late autumn the family moved into a new house built for them by the Mission at 22 Nakanocho, Ichigaya, in the district of Ushigome, several miles to the north and west of the old foreign concession. The regulations then in force made it necessary for Greene to apply for a residence passport, which was duly received after some delay and authorized him to live in the city for five years as an employee of the Japanese congregation, with which he was to be most closely associated during the remaining years of his life.

The Ichigaya house stood in a typical Japanese residential street with houses and gardens screened by high fences and shrubbery. Near by was the residence of a former *daimyo;* among the neighbors with whom the Greenes became acquainted during the nineties there were both Japanese and foreigners. The house opposite was occupied for some years by two Anglican missionaries, one of whom, the Reverend L. B. Cholmondeley, had come to Japan as chaplain to Bishop Bickersteth. Early in 1894, a calling acquaintance was established which grew into one of the most intimate friendships of the Tokyo days. The point of view of a New England Congregationalist was obviously quite different from that of a thoroughgoing High Churchman and neither of the two men was inclined to slur over such differences; but there was genuine friendliness on both sides and mutual respect. Mr. Cholmondeley was a frequent guest at Mrs. Greene's tea-table and took a sympathetic interest in the children.

The friendship thus formed lasted as long as Greene and his wife lived; and when she died in 1910, it came about quite naturally that one of the clergymen who took part in the burial service was her Church of England neighbor. Three

years later when Greene himself was called away, it seemed again quite in accord with all that had gone before that this old friend should be asked to render the same service.

The new home, planned as usual by Greene himself, seemed to Mrs. Greene more '*omoshiroi*' (perhaps *interesting* would be the nearest English equivalent of this untranslatable Japanese word) than any in which she had lived before, though close economy had been necessary. It was a two-story frame house, large enough to accommodate the family of six which still remained after the older children had been left in America. Greene's study and the adjoining living-room looked out on a pleasant garden, presently planted with shrubbery and enclosed with a hedge. The nature of his work in Tokyo was such that his home was also his chief work-place and the point at which many relationships converged. In his study he conferred with the Japanese who were employed in secretarial service or associated with him in various religious and social enterprises. There was an almost constant succession of callers, both Japanese and foreign; the house was also the natural resort of missionary colleagues from other stations, and of many kinds of Americans who stopped at Tokyo during their visits to Japan. Japanese ladies dropped in for a cup of tea with Mrs. Greene; there was choir practice about her piano or a gathering of Japanese pastors and their wives at supper. In times of controversy, these social contacts helped to clear away misunderstandings, or when disagreement seemed inevitable, to prevent differences of opinion from degenerating into personal bitterness.

It was perhaps in these forms of social and intellectual intercourse that Greene was able to make his most unique contribution during his later years, and in which he took the keenest satisfaction. Mr. Cholmondeley has written appreciatively of this phase of his service: 'Certainly their home life afforded a healthy study to the Japanese . . . Dr. Greene was undeniably a gentleman. His very appearance betokened

him to be such, and, while there was nothing markedly clerical in his attire, he was always well and soberly dressed. There was a charm of old-fashionedness too in his courtesy which made strong appeal to the Japanese who came to visit him freely, and who if they had matters to talk over with him were sure of an attentive hearing. He was a good Japanese scholar and a great authority on things Japanese, and this made him a very welcome guest to invite to meet people of note who came out to Japan to gather information about the country.'

The political setting within which foreign enterprise, whether religious or economic, had to be carried on was quite different from that of the seventies and, in some respects, more favorable to missionary enterprise. Railroads, steamships, and telegraph had immensely facilitated communication within the Empire and with the outside world. There were complaints, here and there, of official or social discrimination against Christians and Christian institutions; but the new constitution of 1889 guaranteed religious liberty, and persecution in the extreme sense was a thing of the past. Though missionaries working outside the treaty ports still had to take out permits, these regulations were for the most part generously administered. The long-discussed revision of the treaties was secured by agreements with the powers in 1894 which, taking effect five years later, were to give foreigners liberal rights of residence throughout the Empire, in return for the abandonment by the Western governments of their extraterritorial jurisdiction. All this, from the missionary point of view, was distinctly to the good.

Not so directly related to the missionary work but followed with sympathetic interest by Greene and his associates was the evolution of constitutional government. The year before his return to Tokyo, the Emperor proclaimed the new constitution of 1889, with its guarantees of personal rights and its national parliament — quite imperfect when judged by

the standards of European and American liberalism, but still involving a decided break with traditional ideas. Already Greene had contributed to the Boston periodical 'Our Day' a sympathetic account of the prefectural assemblies which gave the influential classes some preparation for representative government on a larger scale.

The election of members to the first diet, or parliament, took place a few weeks after Greene's arrival in Tokyo and the two houses were convened in November of the same year. The elections were naturally accompanied by considerable excitement in Tokyo and elsewhere. It happened that the Greenes were in Kyoto when the elections were held there and a Japanese friend, a layman in one of the *Kumi-ai* churches, was chosen as one of the two representatives of the city, after a vigorous contest with a Buddhist candidate. The result was especially notable because this district was famous for its great Buddhist temples. At least twelve members of the newly elected Lower House were Christians, of whom five were associated with the *Kumi-ai* churches. One member of this Christian group was chosen as speaker and another became chairman of the committee of the whole.

After the Diet convened, Greene followed its proceedings closely. In December, 1890, shortly after the opening of the session, he wrote that it seemed to be 'doing good service' in the face of much hostile criticism. Occasionally some of the Christian members came to his house to talk over their problems: 'Two of our friends are on the Committee on Estimates. I have sought to urge upon them the importance of great prudence in any opposition they may feel forced to make to the plans of the government.' 'Japan,' he added, 'is thoroughly committed to progress and I believe her parliament is to be creditable to her reputation.' He had misgivings about some of the inexperienced radicals, 'noisy people' who 'mix up with their political radicalism a good deal of talk about preserving the true Japanese spirit.' Though no

admirer of Prussian institutions, he suggested that 'Thoroughgoing discipline of the German sort would do these young men a world of good.' What he had in mind was the extreme nationalism which was to be the source of so much anxiety during the next few years.

Other references to these topics appear in Mrs. Greene's journal. In August, 1890, she records a call from Mr. Nakamura, member of the Lower House from Kyoto and an old friend, who, with some of his associates, was thinking of taking a house near by. Members-elect were already holding conferences in preparation for the coming session and a few weeks after the opening, four of them had supper at the Greenes' — an American meal, with 'waffles of which the Japanese are very fond.' 'They do not speak very enthusiastically of their success as a Diet, they appear to think that they have made rather bungling work.' 'But,' Mrs. Greene adds philosophically, 'it must take some time for them to adjust themselves to work so new to them.'

Greene was especially interested in the conflict then going on between bureaucracy and parliamentary government. In May, 1892, he noted recent parliamentary votes of censure on the Government for interference in the elections: 'The conflict between the Government and the Diet is, when looked at from one point of view, a struggle between the German school of politicians and the English school,' the latter demanding a ministry responsible to parliament and the former emphasizing responsibility to the Crown, 'which, of course, in Japan means practically an irresponsible ministry. . . . The Emperor, however much of a man he may be, never has an opportunity to show his personality and is not supposed to exert any influence on governmental affairs worthy of the name.'. It seemed to this friendly observer that the conflict would end, before very long, with the submission of the ministry to parliament. He recognized also the importance of the 'clan-government' issue: 'Another part of the

struggle in the Diet is one of the nation against the predominance of the two powerful clans of Satsuma and Choshu.' There were indeed few Choshu men in the cabinet of that day; 'but as the Japanese say, the men behind the scenes who pull the strings belong to these two clans and the second-rate men in the cabinet scrape and bow in response to the strings which the showmen hold in their hands. But such talk is *sub rosa*.'

Greene felt strongly the need of more discriminating criticism as applied to Japanese politics; but he did not regard this, generally speaking, as a proper function of the missionary: 'We have too much at stake.' The attempted assassination of the Russian Crown Prince in 1891 seemed to bring out the danger of an emotional nationalism untempered by effective criticism. The Japanese people were 'deeply grieved' by the incident but had not 'taken to heart the real lesson.' This particular outrage was, he thought, 'the direct fruit of the insane political talk of the past year, especially that bearing upon foreign affairs.' One instance of this was the commendation, in supposedly respectable quarters, of 'the would-be murderer of Count Okuma as a patriot of the highest type.' (Okuma had been attacked because his foreign policy was not considered sufficiently vigorous as against the Western powers.) 'Such excited talk receives no adequate condemnation from any Japanese source, i.e., public condemnation. Unless the leaders of public opinion soon come to their senses, Japan must suffer. There is no criticism of Japanese affairs worthy of the name, at once intelligent and candid, but an abundance of superficial praise and senseless fault-finding.' Doubtless he had in mind partly the utterances of the foreign-language press. In a later letter, he observed that the editorials of the 'Japan Mail' on the parliamentary situation should not be taken too seriously because it was subsidized by the Government.

In the winter of 1893, Greene gave a more hopeful view of

the political situation, and in a letter to one of his sons spoke about a recent budget contest between the ministry and the Liberal leaders: 'The Liberals have scored a great victory against the Government. They appealed to the Throne against the Cabinet and received in reply an Imperial Rescript which suggested a middle course between the two contending policies. It was very shrewdly written. . . . They [the Liberals] have now secured a 10 per cent reduction [of official salaries] and further have the promise of the Prime Minister that the whole official list shall be examined and so far as possible the number of office holders be reduced. The contest has also resulted in a practical recognition of the Lower House as paramount in financial legislation; for the Government did not await the action of the Peers, but dealt in this matter directly with the Lower House. There is some difference of opinion as to how much the Emperor had to do with the Rescript. The more intelligent men that I meet think it is to all intents and purposes the work of Count Ito. It will be some years, probably, before a parliamentary government in the English sense can be secured, i.e., in any formal way, but the reality cannot be very far off.' 'It seems to be conceded that the cabinet must bring its policy into conformity with that of the popular house of the Diet.'

Life in Tokyo naturally gave unique opportunities for keeping informed on international issues; and Greene's interest was by no means limited to those which directly concerned the missionary enterprise. More and more he came to think of the missionary function as closely involved in the whole problem of a right adjustment between the peoples and the civilizations of the East and the West.

When the Government met its first Parliament in 1890, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was Count Aoki, who, with his German wife, happened to be fellow-passengers of the Greenes on their way across the Pacific to San Francisco in 1880. While living in Germany, Aoki had received Christian

baptism and, though not formally identified with any Japanese church, was believed to be still friendly to the Christian movement — so much so as to be willing to make a contribution to the missionary organization of the *Kumi-ai* churches. In 1890, when some question was raised as to the propriety of missionary travel outside the treaty ports, it fell to Aoki to make a statement to the United States minister in which he declared that, though there had been some irregularities, this privilege would not be withdrawn. Greene wrote hopefully of him at this time. 'Though without long experience' and 'wide popularity,' his conduct of foreign affairs had 'won the confidence of all but the most hopelessly conservative.'

The outstanding issues of international politics in the Far East, during the nineties, were probably, first, the question of treaty revision and, secondly, the problem of Sino-Japanese relations. Greene was deeply interested in both and in the case of the former especially felt that he was in a position to make some contributions of his own.

In earlier chapters of this book, reference has been made to Greene's presentation of the case against extraterritoriality, and his sympathy with the Japanese point of view. During the nineties he held substantially the same position, but with a somewhat different emphasis. Recent events had shown clearly that the negotiations of the Japanese Government with the Western powers had been seriously embarrassed by the uncompromising attitude of certain ultra-nationalistic elements among its own subjects.

Under these circumstances, Greene urged upon his Japanese friends the need of a more conciliatory temper. An unpublished letter he sent about this time to the Japanese paper, 'Kokumin Shimbun,' indicates his general attitude. In the face of charges to the contrary, he pointed out that the missionaries had, in general, been among the best friends of treaty revision. 'Personally,' he added, 'my sympathy is so strong that I find it a constant temptation to wish for an un-

conditional abandonment of all the privileges connected with the present treaties.' There was, however, another side to be considered. An abrupt change from the old to the new 'would surely lead to irritation which would in turn become a temptation to diplomatic interference.' Few Japanese, he thought, could appreciate what it meant to an Englishman or American to place himself under a system of law radically different from that to which he had been accustomed. 'The new system may be a good one but he cannot adjust himself to it at once.' Then he mentioned as some of the features of the Japanese system which caused anxiety the 'large and seemingly indefinite power of the police'; 'the relations of the police to the judiciary'; 'the wide discretion allowed magistrates in the matter of bail'; 'the absence of juries'; and the lack of any adequate remedy corresponding to the writ of *habeas corpus* for arbitrary action by inferior magistrates. All this pointed to the need of concession in order to avoid international friction; and, in the interest of the Japanese themselves, Greene suggested a special court for foreigners, which should have, not foreign judges, but Japanese 'familiar with the theory and practice of law under both the English and Continental systems.' It would not, he thought, be difficult to find a sufficient number of Japanese having such qualifications.

There are repeated references to the harm that was being done by chauvinistic politicians. In Greene's opinion, the foreign powers had been ready for some time to make 'all, or nearly all, the concessions any responsible Japanese politician has cared to ask. The real opponents of treaty revision are a lot of hot-blooded young fellows, who insist that foreigners shall give up all their present privileges and yet remain contentedly cooped up in the open ports. These fellows make so much noise that the government is afraid of them and so the treaties remain intact and we foreigners receive the curses.'

Fortunately, more reasonable counsels soon prevailed. In 1894 treaties were negotiated, first by Great Britain, and then by other powers including the United States, which provided for the abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction after an interval of five years. In return, the foreigners secured the right to reside, and, on certain conditions, to hold land, outside the treaty ports. In the interval between the negotiation of the treaties and the time set for their taking effect, Greene felt anxious to do what he could to lessen the friction which seemed inevitable when the foreigners passed for the first time under Japanese jurisdiction. It was very important, he thought, for the United States to have a minister in Tokyo who would, in point of character as well as in knowledge of international law, be qualified to deal with the new situation in a judicial spirit. 'In time men will learn how to adjust themselves to the new order of things, as they have in the countries of Continental Europe, but during the period of transition, the appeals to the legation will be frequent and pressing. There will be required of the Minister very clear ideas of what he can do to relieve the sense of grievance, and an unfailing tact in his dealings with his nationals on the one side and the Japanese authorities on the other.'

Not only was considerate action desirable on the part of foreigners; it was no less important to bring about, by friendly suggestion and criticism, such modification of the Japanese procedure as would make for friendly intercourse with the English-speaking residents who formed much the larger part of the foreign communities in Japan. In 1898, Greene sent to Mr. Buck, the new American Minister in Tokyo, a carefully prepared letter indicating the kind of representations which might be made by the American and British Governments to the Japanese authorities, — not as formal demands but as informal suggestions in the interest of amicable relations. In general, he proposed two measures which he thought would safeguard individuals arrested on

suspicion and 'go far to create a sense of security in the community at large.' These were:

'1. The right of access on the part of properly accredited agents of the United States to all American citizens held under arrest both before and after the preliminary examination, whether in so called solitary confinement or otherwise.

'2. The right of similar agents to attend the preliminary examination.'

It seemed to him that such requests, though dealing with what was doubtless in form a domestic matter, would be justifiable because of the peculiarly trying isolation of prisoners unfamiliar with the language and customs of the country — an isolation much more serious than it would have been under a similar system in a European country such as France. This letter was written after 'a long talk' with Mr. Buck and a subsequent conversation with Sir Ernest Satow, the British Minister, an acquaintance of long standing. With Buck's approval a copy of the letter was sent to Satow. 'The latter immediately informed Col. Buck that he was ready to coöperate with him in behalf of the measure I had advocated, and in due time both approached the Japanese government.'

Shortly afterwards, Lord Charles Beresford visited Japan and made a speech suggesting some sort of coöperation on the part of that country with Great Britain, the United States, and Germany. In this speech, Greene writes, Beresford 'sandwiched in a suggestion of a revision of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which came indirectly from my letter to Col. Buck.' The speech was commented upon by the 'Kokumin Shimbun,' and Greene continued the discussion in a letter to the 'Japan Mail' of February 11, 1899, proposing that the code should be revised to permit the defendant's counsel to attend the preliminary examination. This communication 'was commented on, if not copied, in nearly every foreign paper in Japan, and more or less noticed by the Japanese press.' Greene was pleased also to learn that a bill

embodying substantially his proposal had been introduced in the Lower House of the Diet. Furthermore, the Minister of Justice had 'acknowledged its propriety' and his own willingness, under certain conditions, to prepare a bill of similar purport.

A few months later the treaties were in force, and Greene wrote: 'We have passed under Japanese jurisdiction without friction.' He was still anxious, however, as to what might happen if, under the Japanese code, a foreigner should be kept in confinement, without the privilege of giving bail and without access to counsel. Renewing his efforts, he wrote a letter to the 'Far East,' a Japanese publication in the English language of which he was a kind of consulting editor, explaining that he did not have in mind any radical changes in the criminal code which in general followed the French model. He was able to cite French authorities in support of his contention and to show that the French code had been amended in 1897 in order to guard against abuses of power possible under the old system. On this point, he consulted his cousin, Simeon E. Baldwin, then a member of the Connecticut Supreme Court. Baldwin, though approving some features of the French code governing the preliminary examination of defendants, agreed that it would be 'hazardous to allow committing magistrates to cross-question the accused in private, at any length.'

Meantime, Japanese nationalism was intensified by the conflict with China over Korea which culminated in the War of 1894–95. On the main issues, Greene's sympathies were with the Japanese. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities he wrote to an American friend expressing his opinion, in opposition to that of the London 'Spectator,' that there had been no 'deliberate purpose' to bring on the war, but 'a growing impatience with [the] arrogance of China, her double dealing in Corean matters, her interference with Japanese trade, some, apparently, deliberate insults to Japan, etc.' He

believed also that the sensitiveness of the Japanese about their relations with the Western powers had been a contributing factor. Many Japanese had come to think that they could not 'hope to raise themselves to the privileges of a civilized state until either China can be roused from her barbarism or until something is done which will open the eyes of the West to the fact that Japan and China are not merely distinct, but that they have totally different aims. This feeling that the thread which seems to unite the destinies of the two nations must be cut, unless China is ready to accept Japan's leadership, has doubtless had much to do with the determination to fight. I think this 19th century ought to have a better way of [to] secure such an aim, but I do not see that it has and I think 4 men out of 5 in the United States, if not 9 out of 10, would vote enthusiastically for war under such circumstances.'

Notwithstanding some undesirable incidents, Greene felt that the general bearing of Japanese soldiers and civilians during the war was distinctly creditable and he was especially pleased with Marshal Oyama's 'General Order' of September 29, 1894. It was, he thought, 'a most noble document,' worthy of general recognition, 'as indicating the high standard which is held up before the Japanese army. There is good reason to believe that great efforts are being made and with most gratifying success to keep the soldiers up to this standard.' He was also impressed by the comparatively slight disarrangement of affairs at home: 'there is no confusion. Society moves on as usual, the army and navy are well in hand and while the extra demand for men and materials attracts attention and interest, there is nothing spasmodic about it.' When Port Arthur fell in November, 1894, the Greenes shared in the rejoicings of Japanese Christians, who like the rest of the community were represented in the army. Greene himself was a frequent visitor to the soldiers' reading room which was established near the imperial palace.

As the war went on, sympathy with the Japanese position was qualified by some misgiving as to the effect of success on the national temper. In January, 1895, Mrs. Greene wrote in her journal: 'The success of the Japanese in their war which seemed for a time to have a happy effect is making some of them almost insufferably arrogant and we can scarcely pass a number of students together without being made sport of.'

Early in 1895 the peace negotiations began, and on April 17th the treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. Then followed the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany to wrest from Japan one of the chief fruits of the war, the Liaotung Peninsula, with its fortress of Port Arthur. The feeling throughout these critical weeks was intense, and though the Japanese Government was forced to yield to the allies, the surrender was deeply resented. Greene was alive to the dangers of the situation and to the possibility of ministers being swept off their feet by some violent movement of public opinion. 'Japan,' he wrote in a family letter, 'or at least the *samurai* have a vision which dazzles them and makes them oblivious of the plain dictates of common sense.' He reported talk of a possible secret alliance with China directed against the European powers, including not only Russia but England. 'It is the widespread conviction among the talking classes that there will be war with Great Britain within ten years. Many think, or profess to think, that England's naval reputation will burst like a bubble with the first onslaught of the Japanese navy.' A preliminary move which he thought possible was 'to oust Great Britain from the leadership of the Chinese customs and to replace nearly all foreigners in Chinese employ by Japanese.' This would be followed, 'just as soon as the two parties dare to do so,' by a demand for the British evacuation of Hongkong.

This ambitious programme was, he believed, based on a definite theory of East and West relations. He referred for

instance to one of the ablest of the Japanese pastors who believed that 'Western civilization was in its last stage of advance and that, if not dissolution, at least a period of stagnation like that of China was staring it in the face'; 'under Japanese leadership,' however, it might 'take on a new life.' 'This is all ludicrous enough, still there is food for thought in it.' Domestic conditions seemed to accentuate the danger of serious international complications.

'Here we have a people accustomed to great domestic economy entering into industrial competition with Western countries where labor is much higher and the grade of living higher and they can, if they will, bear higher taxes and support an armament which would crush a European nation. In addition to it all, they are homogeneous and while they may quarrel over home policies, they will be a unit in all foreign questions. There will not be in the Jap[anese] Diet for many, many years to come any such minority as is the glory of the British Parliament, or our American Congress — a minority often wrong-headed no doubt, but of the greatest value as a check upon the majority. Perhaps I am over-apprehensive, but I greatly fear that the effect of this 'most important event in the world's history [since the French Revolution, according to the Japanese pastor just quoted], will be to increase very greatly the navies of the world and possibly lead to a combination against Japan for the sake of taking from her a navy which is too dangerous a weapon to leave in the hands of an excitable youth.'

Though always an ardent worker for peace and good will between Japan and the United States, Greene was concerned about the bearing of these developments on his own country. In January, 1895, he wrote strongly of Japanese ambitions in the Pacific and he returned to the subject a few months later. He thought it could 'not be very long' before Japan would 'see her way clear to relieve the Spanish authorities of the burden of the government both in the Philippines and the

Carolines.' Nor did he doubt 'the superiority of Japanese rule over that of Spain or Portugal.' It should be said that at the time Greene was entrusted by the American Board with certain responsibilities in relation to its mission in the Caroline island of Ruk. Of more direct interest in relation to American policies are his references to naval expansion in connection with Hawaii, which Harrison had proposed to annex to the United States by the treaty of 1893, only to have his policy reversed by the Cleveland administration. After speaking of the Carolines, he went on: 'Unless the United States strengthens its navy, Japan will assert claims to Hawaii also before long. . . . Japan intends to be the mistress of the Pacific, and if she makes the navy her specialty, she can do pretty much what she wishes, in the Western Pacific certainly. For Secretary Gresham to imagine that the Hawaiian Islands can be kept independent without a virtual protectorate on the part of the United States is simply to show a provincial estimate of the situation.'

Greene believed there was a certain danger in 'the very altruism of the Japanese' since it offered 'a ready excuse for war based on superficial and *ex-parte* judgments and an endless opportunity for self-deception.' For instance, occupation of the Hawaiian Islands might be justified both by the relatively large number of Japanese settlers there and by the argument that the natives would be thus protected 'against the oppressive rule of a plutocracy'; with their new navy they would be able to make the argument effective. The general conclusion was 'the importance of watching this professedly altruistic, but really ambitious nation.' 'I am a lover of peace, but for the United States to neglect its navy, or strengthen it in the half-hearted way in which it is now being done, is, as I think, an unfortunate mistake.' Greene's correspondence as a whole shows a notably sympathetic attitude toward Japanese aspirations; but for the moment he was seriously disturbed by the violent nationalism displayed in certain

quarters. Fortunately the statesmen who shaped Japanese policies were able to keep the extremists in check.

Under these circumstances, competent American representation in the diplomatic corps was highly important; but such considerations counted little with most American politicians of either party. Greene was not an ardent believer in strictly professional diplomacy; in fact he doubted the desirability, in most cases, of transferring men from the consular service or from legation secretaryships to the highest posts, in the same country at any rate. In speaking, for instance, of one man with a good record as consul-general, who had been suggested for the Tokyo legation, Greene conceded that he was 'a most excellent man and an efficient officer'; but insisted that there was 'a conclusive objection to appointing an official of second rank to the highest diplomatic office in the same country; it is far better to have a greater degree of detachment of mind than is possible in the case of one whose mind has been so much occupied with the details of administration.' It was better to select one whose mind was 'known to be fresh and hence presumably free from local prejudices.'

Other things being equal, Greene was glad to have a minister in Tokyo who had a personal interest in missionary work; but he did not 'regard that as by any means a *sine qua non*.' 'I ask nothing as a missionary. So far as I recollect,' he wrote in 1896, 'I have never but once communicated with the legation in my capacity as a missionary and that was nearly twenty-six years ago. . . . Since that time I have had no temptation to go to the legation on any business which differentiated me from any other foreigner.' In 1890, the head of the legation was a Californian and that selection seemed to him a mistake. There were, no doubt, excellent men on the Pacific coast; but in his opinion any minister from that section would be handicapped by 'the reputation it has gained for unjust treatment of Orientals. This he can, no doubt live down, but at this stage, it would be better to have a minister who will

excite no prejudice.' Incidentally he felt that the particular minister in question 'seemed glad to restrict the liberty of the missionaries by insisting on technicalities which Judge Bingham was glad to make easy for us.'

During the second Cleveland administration, the American Minister at Tokyo was a man who had 'gradually risen from the position of Second Secretary to that of Minister.' He was thus 'well informed regarding Japanese affairs.' Otherwise, Greene was not favorably impressed. 'So far as I can see he has little more influence than a tin speaking tube. Such a man does not make many mistakes of commission, but on the other hand he does not make much of anything else.' Nevertheless, 'it would be a pity to have him displaced unless for the sake of getting some man of special qualifications.'

Greene's views as to what these 'special qualifications' were, are indicated in a letter written to Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, immediately after the presidential election of 1896. First in the list was 'high character,' and then, if possible, a thorough knowledge of international law, combined with a 'judicial habit of mind.' He was thinking primarily then of the problems likely to arise on the abandonment of extraterritorial jurisdiction. If, in addition to 'high character' in the ordinary sense, the minister could also be a man of intellectual distinction, that was much to be desired. In this respect the American record had been distinctly inferior to that of the British. 'We have had several excellent ministers during the twenty-seven years I have been in Japan, but not one who has taken any interest in our learned societies. I wish we could have one who would be a worthy representative of our best American culture.' Similar views were presented in letters to Boston: 'Why,' he wrote in December, 1896, 'can we not look to the United States to do something to elevate the social life of these foreign communities? Why should not a minister make it a part of his duty to do something to give tone to these outposts of civilization?'

Another man with whom Greene corresponded on the subject and from whom he received a cordial response was President Angell, of the University of Michigan.

An ideal appointment from Greene's point of view would have been that of President Angell himself and he wrote the Boston office to that effect. In Angell's published 'Reminiscences,' there is a reference to his being approached by Dr. Richard Storrs, then president of the American Board, with the inquiry whether he 'would accept the position of minister to Japan or Turkey, if desired by the President.' As it finally turned out, the Turkish mission was actually offered and accepted. The appointment to Tokyo was of quite a different kind and Greene was at first disappointed, though the selection proved more satisfactory than he had expected.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME PHASES OF MISSIONARY SERVICE

KEENLY interested as Greene was in the secular aspects of life and thought in a great national capital, he was constantly relating them to his primary function as a promoter of the 'Christian movement.' As one of his friends put it, and one not wholly in agreement with him, 'he would hail all strivings after higher ideals, morally, socially and politically as evidences of the working of the Christian spirit.' Notwithstanding this sense of far-reaching relationships, he did not forget the more direct forms of missionary service.

As a member of the Mission, Greene's first function may be called that of adviser, informal and friendly rather than authoritative, to the Japanese churches in Tokyo and its vicinity. Of these *Kumi-ai* congregations there were several within the city. The Bancho Church, comparatively near their home, called to its pastorate, in 1890, Rev. Paul Kanamori, one of the Kumamoto group at the Doshisha and one of the most eloquent of the *Kumi-ai* pastors. Greene's legal status was, at first, that of an employee of this congregation in which both he and his wife became active workers. Mrs. Greene helped in the social work of the church, in its music (including the playing of the organ), and in direct religious instruction. Greene described this church at that time as 'perhaps the most influential' in Japan, with a notable group of lay members, including Chief Justice Miyoshi of the Supreme Court, who officiated as superintendent of the Sunday School.

At some distance from Bancho, on high ground near the American legation, was the Reinanzaka Church, presided over by Rev. K. Tsunashima, a good friend of the Greenes, who gave him such coöperation as they could, consistently

with other demands on their time and strength. In the Hongo district, near the University, and making a special appeal to students, was the church of which Mr. Yokoi, another Doshisha graduate, was pastor. He was already a recognized leader of the 'liberal,' or theologically advanced, wing of the *Kumi-ai* churches. His philosophical interests were indicated by his arranging a series of lectures in his church by members of the faculty of the Imperial University, on such subjects as Chinese philosophy, psycho-physics, Spinoza, the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. He was hardly less interested, however, in enlisting his student constituency for practical religious work, including the kind of social service which he had seen at the Andover House in Boston.

The nature of Greene's service for these congregations varied from time to time and according to the circumstances of the particular church. During his first summer in Tokyo, he thought that he was likely to be occupied largely with 'quasi-pastoral activity,' and he afterwards spoke of himself and his wife as having 'taken the place of general helpers,' avoiding engagements which might conflict with these claims. His correspondence and Mrs. Greene's journal show how constant the calls for such service were. A few entries may be taken as typical: For one Sunday in June, 1890, Mrs. Greene, who had made a speech to the 'Woman's Reform Club' on the preceding Saturday afternoon, reported attendance at 'our accustomed places,' the Reinanzaka Sunday School and the Bancho Church. At the latter place Greene preached in Japanese and his wife interpreted the sermon to an American Universalist missionary with whom they had established friendly relations. In the afternoon he called on the pastor of the Hongo Church, who happened to be ill that day. On another Sunday, he preached at Reinanzaka and his wife, after attending the Sunday School there, did her part at Bancho where she heard with more than usual interest a ser-

mon by the Japanese pastor. Week days brought her social and religious meetings with the women of one or another of the churches and an occasional entry tells of her drilling young men from the Bancho Church in their music.

These pastoral responsibilities were not confined to the city. In 1894, the coming of *Kumi-ai* Christians to Yokohama resulted, after some hesitation due to a desire not to embarrass other denominational groups, in the formation of a new church in that city. More important, and requiring from time to time extended tours, was the care of certain churches in the interior, chiefly in the region northwest of Tokyo, known as Joshu. Here in the prefecture of Gumma there were at least seven fully organized churches and a much larger number of places in which missionary work was being carried on. This district was set apart in 1894 as a separate station with its center at Maebashi, the prefectural capital; but until that time it was included in 'Tokyo Station.'

Greene's report of two tours in Joshu, in August and December, 1890, brings out typical experiences, impressions, and points of view. He began by noting the great changes which had come about since his first visit to the provincial capital. Then the journey from Tokyo had taken nearly two days; now the coming of the railroad had cut the time to about four hours, though there were still enough rough roads to recall the travels of earlier years. The chief economic interest of the district was its silk production. Its people were 'nearly all engaged directly or indirectly in silk raising and everything else must give way to that during the silk season.' Modern commercial conditions had brought a more intense, as well as more specialized, industry, and the active season, formerly between April and June or July, had been extended by the rearing of silk worms in the early autumn; in fact if the trees could stand the constant cropping the season would be 'continuous through the summer.' As a result of this intense specialization, the people of these interior valleys were

'almost entirely dependent for their food supply on the great grain markets of the East and North.' 'The acreage devoted to the mulberry has been increasing every year until it is hard to find a place on the steep mountain sides susceptible of cultivation which has not been reclaimed and devoted to mulberry growing.' During the past season, unfortunate weather conditions had depressed the silk trade, and the finances of the Joshu churches had suffered in consequence.

With all his keen practical interest in industrial processes, Greene was always sensitive to beauty in the landscape about him. 'There are no more picturesque mountains in Japan,' he wrote, 'than those of Joshu. There is one near Dr. Neesima's old home which as you catch its profile while ascending the principal valley, appears like an enormous wave suddenly congealed, ragged crest and all, when at its highest point. Another stands out like the roof of an immense cathedral. Nothing can be more beautiful than the prospect which this valley offers in the twilight of an autumn day.'

From a missionary point of view, the province seemed to Greene no less interesting. There were 'few places where Christianity has gained a firmer foothold, or where its influence on the life of the people is more marked.' Then he went on to speak of the prefectural assembly of whose sixty members ten were Christians, 'including the President and Vice President besides several members of the Standing Committee.'

Greene's first appointment on one of these tours was at the dedication of a chapel in a little country village, built, he understood, without foreign aid. Two hundred people gathered in spite of a heavy rain to hear afternoon and evening addresses by Greene himself and the pastors of four neighboring churches. He noted with satisfaction the improvement in the singing, largely due, he thought, to the teaching of music in the public schools. From this point he went on to

the prefectural capital and other smaller places, usually accompanied *en route* by at least one of the pastors and receiving everywhere the most generous and unobtrusive hospitality. In one factory town, with six hundred operatives, a working girl 'begged to be allowed to sweep and dust the church'; the congregation was self-supporting. He heard too of a village of charcoal-burners a few miles away, 'rough mountaineers who heard of Christianity through a colporter of the American Bible Society and became new men. Their charcoal became known in the market as the product of Christian men and purchasers were glad to pay a higher price for it, because they knew it would be full weight without stones or dirt.'

Mrs. Greene's journal has some vivid accounts of her occasional share in these Joshu tours. In the spring of 1891, she visited Maebashi and spoke to nearly two hundred women. In the evening of the same day, she spoke from the same platform with two of the Japanese pastors to a 'mixed audience,' 'the first time in my life I ever did such a thing. "Publish it not in Gath."' Her knowledge of Japanese was not as extensive or exact as her husband's; but these deficiencies were compensated for by unusual fluency and vivacity of expression. The next day a few of the Japanese ladies gave her a dinner at a foreign restaurant. One of these Japanese friends, she wrote, 'paid me the extraordinary and doubtful compliment which Mr. Davis received some years ago of speaking better than the Japanese do.' She, also, took the keenest pleasure in the mountain landscapes of northern Japan, especially when lighted by the brilliant autumn foliage.

As the representative of his mission at the capital, Greene had to act for his colleagues on many matters of religious interest which called for interdenominational coöperation. His varied experience, his wide personal acquaintance outside of his own mission, and the range of his intellectual interests — all served to qualify him for such service. It was also thor-

oughly congenial. Since comprehensive plans for organic union seemed for the present impracticable, he turned naturally to the next best thing — the fullest possible coöperation. The men with whom he was thus associated represented many forms of Christian worship, from the High-Church Anglican to the Quaker, and almost every phase of theological opinion from that of the 'Old School' Presbyterians to the American Unitarians and similar groups among the German missionaries. His contacts with the Roman Catholic workers were slight; but his relations with Bishop Nicolai, the head of the Russian Orthodox Mission, though scarcely intimate, were distinctly friendly.

Outside of his own mission, his closest associations were with the liberal wing of the Presbyterians, more particularly with William Imbrie, perhaps his most intimate personal friend in Tokyo, and George William Knox whose reputation as a student of comparative religions led to his transfer from the mission field to a chair in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. His relations with the Anglican groups, British and American, were more complex. His New England inheritance gave him an outlook radically different from that of a typical Anglican churchman; and though the Anglican liturgy in itself appealed to him, he disliked the more spectacular forms of ecclesiastical ceremonial. He was also repelled by assumptions of ecclesiastical superiority, which seemed to him quite inconsistent with a truly catholic spirit. Having little sympathy with those in his own church who regarded the Congregational order as sacrosanct, he naturally could not accept the claims of any other church to an exclusive divine authority. Nevertheless he recognized and valued a certain breadth of culture in some of his Anglican associates; he also shared with them certain misgivings about the 'evangelical' approach to religion. There is some truth in the opinion of one of these Anglican friends, 'an Oxford high churchman,' that Greene 'instinctively mistrusted evangelical

preachings and emotional appeals to an emotional people like the Japanese.'

The inauguration of the Unitarian work in Japan was accompanied by a certain disparagement, express or implied, of the work done by other churches, which the latter naturally found trying. Though not much interested in dogmatic details, Greene felt that the attempt of the radical theologians to rationalize Christianity by eliminating its supernatural elements had gone so far as to deprive it of its unique appeal to the human spirit. It seemed to him that, in the utterances of some of the 'liberals,' Christian theism evaporated into a kind of vague pantheism. Notwithstanding these differences, his natural tendency was always to look for common ground. When Rev. George L. Perin came out to represent the American Universalist Churches, his Unitarian theology did not prevent the friendliest relations between the two men and their families. On the occasion of a vigorous controversy in which Perin had taken what Greene considered an 'indefensible' course, the latter remarked that after all the newcomer was 'not an extreme man' and that his attitude was partly due to lack of courtesy on the part of conservative opponents; the latter had recently referred to Perin and his party as 'emissaries of the devil.' On another occasion also Greene complained of orthodox controversialists who seemed to lack 'any conception of courtesy' and were 'dogmatic to the last degree' — so much so that he read their articles 'with a deep sense of humiliation.'

When the Tokyo Conference, an international organization of missionaries, was revived in 1891, the conservatives objected to the admission of Unitarians and Universalists; but, as Greene observed, the 'better sense of the majority prevailed,' and one of the German radicals was even made a member of the Council. Such associations contributed toward better mutual understanding; and the withdrawal of one pugnacious radical contributed to the same result. In

1892, he wrote: 'The Unitarians now here are reverent men — they are easy men to get along with.' Of his Universalist friend he said that his work had been more effective than that of any other man of the 'liberal' group: 'It is so because he believes in a working church and is interested in all matters of social and moral reform, there is life in his church.' Three years later Greene remarked after a friendly talk with a Unitarian worker, who 'came out squarely in favor of theism': 'I feel grateful for every apostle of the doctrine of a personal God.' Of a similar kind were his relations with the German Mission whose scholarly interests he was perhaps better able than some of his colleagues to appreciate. Characteristic of him was this comment on one member of that mission on his return to Germany: 'While dissenting from his opinions most emphatically, I am disposed to think his work here has been useful.' As to the future of this mission, he welcomed the prospect that 'criticism will be less prominent in their work.'

Greene's general attitude toward dogmatic differences has been fairly summarized by his Church of England neighbor, Mr. Cholmondeley: 'Dogma, a much ill-used term, misunderstood, and popularly regarded as divorced from liberty and life, had probably little place given to it in Dr. Greene's Christianity, for to a man like Dr. Greene liberty and life were everything, and he would hail all strivings after higher ideals, morally, socially, and politically as evidences of the working of the Christian Spirit. As an illustration of this rightly or wrongly lauded broadness, it may be mentioned that he preached at the opening of a Unitarian Church in Tokyo.'

The forms of service open to men of this temper were various. Greene's interest in the work of the Bible societies was of long standing and during this period he served on the Joint Committee responsible for maintaining effective coöperation on the part of the American, British, and Scottish societies.

The problems to be dealt with were often perplexing, involving difficult personal and institutional adjustments, and there was occasionally some asperity in the correspondence; Greene himself could, when necessary, present his views with considerable vigor. Gradually, however, difficulties were cleared up and the correspondence of the American Bible Society shows how much its officers came to rely on Greene's counsel. He rendered similar service for a time for the Tract societies.

His interest in the interdenominational Tokyo Conference has already been mentioned and the Young Men's Christian Association also enlisted his services as counselor. Finally, as a result of his residence at the capital, he was naturally selected more frequently than his associates, for conference on questions of inter-denominational comity. In short, he became for his colleagues a kind of *liaison* officer.

As in earlier years, Greene took an active interest in the literary ventures of his Japanese friends. In 1890, the two chief papers representing the *Kumi-ai* Christians were the weekly 'Kirisutokyo Shimbun' (usually known in English as 'The Christian') and the monthly 'Rikugo Zasshi' ('Cosmos'). Founded by young Japanese pastors in the early eighties, neither had been a strictly denominational organ. For a time, both papers were subsidized by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed missions; but the failure of the union movement led to the withdrawal of the two latter denominations. Financial difficulties followed and Greene did his best to secure continued support from the American Board or from other friends in America; such assistance was actually given until 1893 when the Board subsidy was withdrawn. The most important figure in this Japanese Christian journalism of the early nineties was the Tokyo pastor, Yokoi, the editor of 'The Christian.' Generally speaking both newspapers had come to represent what was then considered advanced liberalism.

The theological controversies of the period, to be described

presently, emphasized the need of some publication which would bring to the Japanese Christians, especially to their leaders, articles in Western journals fairly representative of contemporary Christian thought. In 1896 this interest took shape in the publication of the 'Fukuin Soshi,' a monthly magazine, directed by a committee of the mission and edited by Greene with a Japanese associate. The articles were taken chiefly from the religious press of England and America, though some German material was also presented, together with selections from the secular press. The character of its contents may be illustrated by the announcement for the December number of 1896. The list began with an article from the London 'Spectator' on 'Hebrew Poetry'; then came a series of articles or addresses by such men as the archæologist Sayce, Sir Monier Williams, Henry van Dyke, and Rush Rhees. There were also sermons by representative theologians — the English Bishop of Ripon, the German scholar Friedrich Loofs, and the American Lyman Abbott. In general, the magazine was intended to take a middle ground between the radicals and the extreme conservatives. Having in mind especially the needs of pastors and evangelists, some attention was given to contemporary Christian enterprises and to devotional topics. The magazine seemed to meet a real demand from its special constituency and was continued until 1903 when this particular kind of publication was thought to be no longer needed.

In his preliminary discussion of the policy with the prospective Japanese editor, Greene emphasized the importance of literary standards and especially of a simple and direct style. Supporting himself by the example of the Japanese newspaper, 'Jiji Shimpo,' he proposed that the number of Chinese characters should be reduced so far as possible. He remarked also the unusual popularity of Mr. Kozaki as a writer on religious topics, a popularity due largely to 'the simplicity of his style.'

Activities of this kind, combined with personal associations formed at the Doshisha, brought some interesting contacts with contemporary Japanese journalism. Especially significant during this period was Greene's friendship with Iichiro Tokutomi, one of the outstanding journalists of modern Japan. Born at Kumamoto in Kyushu, Tokutomi followed the older members of the 'Kumamoto Band' to Kyoto and subsequently went to Tokyo, where in 1887 he began the publication of a monthly magazine. In 1890, he founded the 'Kokumin Shimbun,' a daily newspaper of liberal tendencies which soon exerted a notable influence, not only in a political sense but in the setting of literary standards for that type of publication. He took special interest also in using his paper as a medium for the exchange of Western and Eastern ideas.

In 1895, Tokutomi determined to issue, in connection with the 'Kokumin,' a monthly periodical whose primary aim should be to interpret Japanese thought to the Western world. The first issue appeared in the following year under the title of 'The Far East, An Exponent of Japanese Thought and Affairs.' In this new enterprise he had the assistance of one of Greene's Doshisha pupils, Mr. Eigo Fukai, who subsequently had a distinguished career as a financial expert at the Paris and Washington Conferences of 1918 and 1921 and more recently, as one of the directors of the Bank of Japan. Greene was invited to coöperate as contributor and consultant, giving advice as to English style and as to the kind of matter suitable for foreign readers. He accepted the invitation, in return for assistance in the preparing of translations for his theological magazine. 'I shall not be sorry,' he wrote, 'to have a chance now and then to say my say to the audience which this new monthly will furnish.'

The responsibilities thus assumed were taken seriously on both sides. Greene could express his views on such subjects as judicial procedure in relation to foreign residents, and also

use his influence in favor of moderate treatment of international issues. Shortly after the first issues appeared he was gratified by a request from Mr. Tokutomi and from the special editor of 'The Far East,' both of whom were to be temporarily absent from the country, that he should 'exercise a special care of the "tone" of the journal and not hesitate to sit down upon any undue jingoism.' He took advantage of this suggestion in the case of a 'most censorious and superficial article about the foreign powers' and expected that it would either be 'much toned down' or not appear at all.

Meantime he was making another contribution to contemporary international discussions through his correspondence with 'The Christian Union' which, under the same editorship of Lyman Abbott, was succeeded in 1893 by 'The Outlook.' In the theological controversies of the time, Abbott's sympathies were with the American liberals, and with the corresponding group among the missionaries. The articles which Greene contributed dealt partly with theological and religious topics; but he also tried to keep Americans informed about what was going forward in Japanese society and politics, as, for instance, the prospects of parliamentary government under the new constitution, and the problems of Japanese foreign policy.

Along with these journalistic ventures, Greene was doing some work of a distinctly scholarly type. In 1897, he completed his work as reviser of Albrecht's translation of Ritter's 'Protestant Missions in Japan,' contributing to it an important supplementary chapter covering the years from 1890 to 1897. It was during this period also that he began his active participation in the work of the Asiatic Society. In 1891, he was chosen one of the ten members of the council which then included some notable students of 'things Japanese.' Two years later he was advanced to the vice-presidency of the Society and in 1894 to the presidency. In 1895, however,

he retired from that office to make way for Sir Ernest Satow, the British Minister, who had lately returned to Japan to resume a distinguished career of diplomatic and scholarly service. In 1900, Greene was again elected to the presidency, which he held for the next three years; and his membership in the Council was continuous from that time until his death except for a short period of absence from the country.

The 'Transactions' show his keen interest in the work of the Society; and his informal contributions are frequently recorded. Among the notable papers which he discussed at various sessions a few may be cited as indicating the range of his interests. They included essays by Percival Lowell on 'Esoteric Shintoism'; by Lloyd on various phases of Japanese Buddhism; by Basil Chamberlain on literary and philological topics; by Sir Ernest Satow on 'The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan'; by Lay on 'Political Parties in Japan,' and by Droppers on 'Silver in Japan.' Any one at all familiar with the serious literature relating to Japan, which has come from European and American scholars, will appreciate the refreshment and stimulus which a hard-worked missionary was likely to find in association with men of such varied interests — diplomatists, scientific investigators, economists, philologists, and men of letters.

Greene's first substantial contribution to the 'Transactions' was a paper on the 'Tenrikyo,' a recent but numerous Shinto sect whose tenets interested him because they seemed to show traces of Christian influence. This paper, read in 1895, was published in the 'Transactions' for that year. His early recognition of Western influences at work before the days of Commodore Perry led to more thorough studies of the Dutch as interpreters of European civilization. In 1907, he published his 'Correspondence between William II of Holland and the Shogun of Japan,' including hitherto unpublished letters from the Dutch archives. In 1912, he dealt with another phase of the same subject in his paper on 'Takano Nagahide' ('Trans-

actions,' 1913), putting into English a Japanese biography of a representative 'Dutch Scholar' of the early nineteenth century, with an introductory essay and some notes illustrating the widespread interest of Japanese students in Western learning.

CHAPTER XIV

NATIONALISM AND THE NEW THEOLOGY, 1890–97

In the varied forms of service just described, there were, naturally, defeats as well as victories. This was peculiarly true of the decade following 1890, when the rapid expansion and ardent enthusiasm of the eighties were followed by years of 'reaction' or at least of arrested progress.

One of the factors responsible for this set-back in the missionary program was the marked intensification of Japanese nationalism. In a quite natural reaction from the over-rapid acceptance of Western ideas and practices, Japanese patriotism became increasingly sensitive and increasingly impatient of foreign tutelage. Almost inevitably this rising tide of nationalism made itself felt, to a greater or less extent, among the Japanese Christians. In their relations with their non-Christian countrymen, they felt themselves under suspicion as adherents of a foreign religion, and as members of ecclesiastical organizations more or less subject to foreign control. Even those who were most loyal to their Christian convictions and on the most friendly personal terms with their missionary associates were anxious to prove their intellectual self-reliance and to carry forward the work of their churches under distinctly Japanese leadership.

In some respects, the American Board Mission, and the *Kumi-ai* churches which had grown up under its guidance, were comparatively well prepared to deal with the new situation. The Congregational system, with its theory of the independence of the local church, gave to Japanese pastors and laymen unusual opportunities for self-reliant leadership; and the 'self-support' policy had a similar tendency. Even under the most favorable conditions, however, some questions

required careful handling, as for instance in the relations of the mission with the Japanese Home Missionary Society. Though fully developed churches were expected to stand on their own feet and not rely on mission subsidies, the Board still contributed to the evangelistic work of the Japanese Society, which planted new churches and helped them over the first critical years. In general, it was the policy of the mission to give this help with the minimum of control; but the wishes of American donors could not be wholly ignored and it was not always easy to reconcile them with the policies of the Japanese leaders.

Similar difficulties arose in connection with the Doshisha. Here was an institution brought into existence through the coöperation of the Japanese leader, Neesima, with the American Board and its agents in Japan. Its educational and religious policies were developed largely by the American members of the faculty who received their salaries from Boston; the school properties, too, were mainly the result of American contributions, though gifts had also been received from Japanese sources. On the other hand, the title to all the college buildings, as well as the houses of the missionary teachers, was held by a Japanese Board of Trustees, in trust for the carrying out of Neesima's idea of a Christian university. In short, while the equities of the Board in the institution were large, they were almost wholly dependent on the good will of the Japanese associates.

So long as Neesima lived, his ideas about the fundamental principles of the Doshisha were substantially those of his American colleagues and his theological outlook was distinctly 'evangelical'; but after his death in 1890, a group of younger men came to the front, with a very different outlook. Reacting strongly against the older theology, and desiring to bring the Doshisha more fully into line with the Japanese educational system, they adopted a series of measures which, in the opinion of the Board and even of those mis-

sionaries who were most sympathetic with the Japanese, were likely to deprive the Doshisha of its Christian character and therefore to defeat the purposes of the American donors. From the point of view of the latter, the Japanese trustees were exercising their strictly legal rights without sufficient regard to the equitable interest of the Board.

The whole problem of coöperation between Japanese and American Christians was further complicated by the theological controversies of the time which, originating in Europe and America, were presently carried to the Asiatic side of the Pacific. In the eighties, the 'new theology' had presented itself in a comparatively conservative aspect, notably that of the so-called 'Andover Movement,' which had considerable support, both in the mission and among the Japanese pastors, though even then it was regarded with some anxiety by the more conservative missionaries. During the next decade, however, more radical tendencies became evident. The inauguration of the Unitarian and Universalist missions from the United States and the development of the German Protestant group familiarized the Japanese with conceptions of Christianity quite different from those to which most of them had been accustomed. Whether as students abroad, or through their private reading of contemporary theological literature, many of the Japanese pastors became dissatisfied with the intellectual guidance which they had received from their missionary teachers, and undertook to provide for their countrymen a freer and more modern kind of Christianity. They believed that the Christian spirit should emancipate itself from what they conceived to be Western, and therefore alien, forms of expression; and they hoped to develop a Japanese Christianity which should have its own unique message for the world. In the case of some Japanese who had made extended visits to the United States, personal observations strengthened this conviction and emphasized the limitations of Western Christianity by bringing out the contrast

between Christian ideals and the general tone of a supposedly Christian society.

Under these circumstances, even the comparatively loose connection existing between the American Board and the Japanese Churches was subjected to a severe strain. While the American friends of the mission expected that their gifts would be used to promote distinctly Christian teaching, some of the Japanese radicals appeared, even to the most sympathetic of their foreign associates, to have passed beyond the limits of historic Christianity. Whatever an independent or self-supporting Japanese church might do, the missionaries felt that they could not, in determining the use of mission funds, altogether ignore the desires of their American constituency. The result, in many cases, was to interfere with effective coöperation between the American and Japanese workers. A 'Deputation' sent out from Boston in 1895 failed to solve the problem and provision was made for the discontinuance of the Board subsidy.

Though the direct influence of these controversies on the rank and file of the Japanese churches was, perhaps, not so great as might have been expected, there was unquestionably a weakening of *morale*, in marked contrast with the enthusiasm of the previous decade. The membership of the *Kumi-ai* churches, which had risen from 514 in 1880 to over 10,000 in 1891, remained nearly stationary during the nineties and the total for 1896 showed an actual reduction below that reported in 1891. The chief storm centers were Kyoto and Tokyo; and though the missionaries at Kyoto were most directly and painfully affected by the Doshisha controversy, it was Tokyo which had the largest and most influential group of Doshisha alumni, including several outstanding leaders of the *Kumi-ai* Christians; and it was precisely in this group of Tokyo leaders that the new spirit was most apparent. Inevitably, therefore, a large part of the responsibility for 'carrying on' fell upon Greene, as the Tokyo representative of the mission.

It is essential to an understanding of Greene's attitude during this period to keep in mind the large measure of sympathy which he felt with the liberal movement in the churches. He had advocated the acceptance of the suspected Andover candidates for the Japan mission, and he was especially considerate of the intellectual and religious difficulties of young men. On his return to Japan in 1890, he noted at once the growing influence of German theology, of which he did not wholly approve, but which he was unwilling to oppose by merely restrictive measures. In his opinion the attitude of the Japanese liberals, who were fairly well informed about the controversies going on in America, had been unfavorably affected by the ultra-conservatism of some of the American Board leaders. 'The safest course for us now,' he wrote, 'is the bold and confident policy, which implies a strong faith in [the power of?] the Scripture teaching to maintain itself against error.' Writing a little later about books for the use of Christian pastors, he referred to the criticism passed on the inclusion of works by radical German theologians, and insisted that a censorship which excluded such books would be 'a tremendous mistake'; 'the only way in which we can hold our young men is by according to them the fullest opportunity for independent investigation which our means afford.' In the same spirit, he declined to join in an organized movement to promote 'evangelical,' as against 'liberal,' theology, and to 'discourage the circulation of literature hostile to Christianity.' 'Most intelligent Japanese,' he wrote, 'will say at once that a form of religion which finds it necessary to discourage the circulation of the literature of its opponents is conscious of inherent weakness. I could not consent to put myself in a position where I should be the object of such a misunderstanding.'

As the radical movement developed among the Japanese Christians, Greene was undoubtedly anxious about the outcome; but he continued to defend them against adverse crit-

icism. Referring to the discouragement of a more conservative colleague in the Doshisha faculty, who believed that the Scriptures were 'absolutely inerrant,' or would be if a correct text were established, he remarked that, though the Japanese leaders would probably never accept that view, they would nevertheless 'hold firmly to the essentials of orthodox Christianity.' If the results of modern scholarship had been presented as a part of their theological training, the presentation of such views later would have been less disturbing. Under the circumstances, however, they needed 'a little time to recover themselves. There is no need of discouragement, but only patience and forbearance.'

What Greene meant by 'the essentials of orthodox Christianity' is suggested by a letter written a few years later: 'If we can make men believe that 'God is and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him,' the Gospel message will seem urgent and they will contribute gladly for its propagation. The fundamental question is this, Is there a personal God who has sent His Son to seek and to save the lost?' The one thing which seemed to him most nearly the heart of Christianity was the conception of a divine Father who could hold 'personal communion' with men. As compared with this vital conviction, other dogmatic issues troubled him very little. The time soon came, however, when some of his most valued Japanese associates could no longer hold with him to these central principles; and the necessity of facing this fact was, for him as well as for his more conservative colleagues, extremely painful.

In 1891, the pastor of the Tokyo church with which the Greenes were most closely affiliated felt impelled to challenge certain aspects of Christian doctrine held to be essential even by the more moderate of his American and Japanese associates. Thereupon he resigned his pastorate; and shortly afterward he seemed to reject definitely the claim of Christianity to any unique authority. During the next few years, sev-

eral pastors gave expression to similar views. Some of them continued as a radical group in the *Kumi-ai* churches; others withdrew from the pastorate and even in some cases from formal church connections of any kind. The situation was peculiarly embarrassing to Greene and those of his associates who were trying to mediate between the conservative and the radical elements. To the radicals, this mediating group appeared as the defenders of an antiquated theology, trying to check the free development of the Japanese churches. On the other hand, conservative missionaries regarded the whole development as the natural outcome of the Andover movement and the 'higher criticism.' If, they argued, a firm stand had been made at the outset against all departures from traditional orthodoxy, these troubles in the churches would never have occurred.

With this ultra-conservative reaction to the radical movement Greene had no sympathy. Through these trying years of controversy, when many things were said — often without intentional offense — which grieved him deeply, he made it his constant effort to maintain such personal relations with the radical leaders as would make possible frank and friendly exchange of views. Some of them still felt free to gather about the family table at Nakanocho and were welcomed there in the same spirit. At one time or another, these relations were severely strained, and even in some cases interrupted; but it is a striking fact that many of the Japanese friends who gathered about Greene in his last years had taken the radical side during the 'storm and stress' period of the nineties.

Fairly typical of Greene's attitude during this controversial period are his references to one of the pastors who had attracted attention by supposedly heterodox utterances! 'The doctrines of theology,' he wrote, 'are the theories by which we seek to explain, or classify, certain statements of scripture or certain facts of religious experience. There is no departure from evangelical faith necessarily involved in sub-

jecting these doctrines to rigorous criticism.' Before long, however, he came to realize that the differences involved went deeper than he had at first supposed. He was not, he thought, 'much of a heresy-hunter'; but he found it difficult to co-operate in missionary enterprises with one who seemed to mention the future life 'only to weaken faith in it.' Such men must, however, be given 'time to get their bearings.' Such pleas for considerate action were no mere matter of policy; there was a more personal note of genuine affection. He wrote of the same man in one of the most critical periods of the controversy: 'He is a noble-minded man, not always sound in judgment, but a man of generous nature whom to know is to love. He is not the only one of this sort who sometimes say things which give us pain.'

After a debate in which another outspoken critic of the missionaries expressed himself with more than usual warmth, Greene confessed his own feeling that the missionaries were not being fairly treated but added: 'we are not disposed to forget that these very men are doing a good work of which we are in a sense proud. Mr. —— was here to dinner to-day and it was hard to believe while he sat here at the table telling stories that he was the same man who a few days ago held up the mirror before our faces and tried to make us realize what wretched creatures we were.' About the same time, he wrote of the Kumamoto men, then conspicuous for their radicalism, with disapproval and yet with genuine sympathy: 'I am free to confess that when I think what some of these men have given up for the cause of Christianity, the self-denial represented by the sums we administer [i.e., the American funds] seems very small.'

As already indicated, there were two concrete practical issues which confronted the American Board Mission as a result of these theological differences. The first related to that part of the directly evangelistic work in which the Japanese Christians were partially dependent upon the financial co-

operation of the Board. The second outstanding, and, as it proved, the most trying, issue was that of the Doshisha, which also involved the financial coöperation of Japanese and American Christians.

On the question of restricting the use of funds for evangelistic purposes, Greene's correspondence shows that he appreciated, and in a measure sympathized with, the Japanese point of view. In March, 1893, on the eve of the annual meeting of the *Kumi-ai* churches, Greene declared his opinion that the desire of these men 'to mould the future of their church organization untrammeled by foreign authority' was 'not without reason.' From their point of view, 'the claim of some missionaries that since they pay the money, they must run the machine' was 'little short of brutal.' He could understand, too, 'how hard it must be' for the Japanese to be 'continually assailed as the servants of foreigners.' As regards funds under his own immediate control, he might 'in certain conceivable cases' interpose his veto but he could not remember that he had ever done so. When demands came from Boston for the dismissal of 'evangelists and others who have erred from the faith,' he again pleaded for patience: 'We are not disloyal to our constituents, but we assume that they would not have us lead the van in a theological controversy when in our judgment the effect would be vastly more disastrous to our work than the toleration of a few errorists.'

After prolonged discussion, the views of the mission were set forth through a committee of which Greene was a member in a printed pamphlet entitled 'A Letter to the *Kumi-ai* Churches' (September 1, 1894). This statement, 'pretty much *verbatim*, from my pen,' he wrote a few months later, proposed in substance that the Japanese churches should eliminate this issue of foreign control by becoming financially independent. The following extracts fairly illustrate his general attitude:

'While we firmly believe in freedom of thought and have

had no wish to place artificial barriers in the way of your students, or scholars, as they seek to learn the will of God, revealed in the scriptures and in their own experience, yet we know that sometimes the conditions which we have felt obliged, explicitly or implicitly, to place upon our offers of aid have seemed to some of you irksome and, in some degree, at least, injurious to the life and influence of the churches. Is it not better under such circumstances, that the general work which represents to your people the life and thought of the whole body of *Kumi-ai* Christians should be so conducted that the desire for financial aid could not appear to any in your churches, or outside of them, to be hindering or disturbing, the growth of your intellectual and spiritual life. . . . Freed from the appearance of an extraneous support, we are confident that, while the essential doctrines of Christianity will remain, the form of expression will the sooner be brought into conformity with your own habits of thought and thus be more speedily recognized by your countrymen as the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.'

In the spring of 1895, this suggestion from the mission came before the annual conference of the *Kumi-ai* churches where it was discussed in a conciliatory spirit, and approved in substance. The document in which the Conference reported its decision acknowledged the obligations of its constituent churches to the mission: 'We have not always been able to agree with your opinions; and, moreover, since our customs and ways of thinking are different from yours, we cannot be sure that we have not at times wounded your feelings; but we thank God that we have been co-workers with you for the evangelization of this country during so many years.' Nevertheless, the Japanese churches, through their Missionary Society, had 'decided by a unanimous vote to become independent and to decline henceforth the usual annual contribution from the American Board.' They had done this

because of their conviction that 'the Missionary Society should be independent both in name and in fact. This is simply a new step toward the ideal which we have had from the beginning.'

The problem of the Doshisha proved even more difficult; but in this case also Greene's habit of considering, sympathetically as well as justly, the Japanese point of view made possible, after many disappointments, a comparatively satisfactory adjustment. A detailed presentation of the controversies involved would be of slight interest to most readers; but in order to understand his part in the discussion the main issues must be recalled. First of all came the question whether the Doshisha should continue definitely Christian, as that term was understood by the missionaries and their American supporters. Under Chapter I of its Constitution, the managers were required 'to promote moral and intellectual education in close union'; and Christianity was specifically declared to be 'the foundation of the moral education promoted by this company.' The second article of this chapter declared that, 'All schools of the Company must have "Doshisha" as a part of their name, and this constitution applies to them all.' Finally the articles containing the above-mentioned provisions were followed by a sixth article which read: 'The above five articles are unchangeable.' It was on this understanding that the contributions of the American Board and of individual donors had been made. The administration and interpretation of this general policy was left in the hands of the Japanese trustees, who, however, agreed that there should be certain foreign advisory members representing the American Board interest.

The development of the problem during the 'reaction' of the nineties was briefly summed up from Greene's point of view, in a statement prepared by him for a revised English edition of Ritter's 'History of Protestant Missions in Japan.' The presence, among the Doshisha Trustees, of Americans

representing the missionary organization 'came in time to seem a restriction upon the liberty of the Trustees,' who intimated their intention of appointing, themselves, certain 'honorary trustees from among the missionaries.' Meantime, it became evident that it was the settled policy of the Trustees to permit within the institution utterances which seemed to their foreign associates definitely anti-Christian. One instructor was reported to have said that worship of the Deity as an objectively existent Being was 'idolatrous and that the work of the missionaries was merely the substitution of one superstition for another.'

Responding to inquiries and criticisms from representatives of the American Board, the Doshisha trustees declined to state their policy with respect to Christianity further than to say 'that it was the purpose of the Faculty to cultivate in the students a Christian spirit.' They further stated that to attempt to define their attitude would give to the Doshisha a sectarian character which they felt bound to avoid; that there must be in the faculty the widest toleration of religious opinion; and that it was upon this understanding that they had accepted and had hitherto administered their trust. From the point of view of academic ideals, there was much to be said for this position. On the other hand, an organization like the American Board, entrusted by its constituents with funds for the propagation of Christianity, could hardly be expected to use those funds without some reference to the primary object for which the money had been given.

Unfortunately, the question of principle was complicated by circumstances of merely transient importance, some of which were largely personal in character. It happened, for instance, that Captain Janes, the old teacher of the 'Kumamoto Band,' lost his sympathy with the missionary work and in a series of addresses at Kyoto displayed a strongly anti-clerical spirit. Into the various matters which affected the attitude of Captain Janes and many of his former pupils,

who were moved by a natural sense of personal loyalty, it is not worth while to enter here. It is enough to say that they added a certain emotionalism to the discussion, which might otherwise have been avoided.

There were also difficult legal questions which in turn were affected by the general international situation. One such question, which may be mentioned by way of illustration, though not in itself of primary importance, concerned certain mission houses, the titles to which could not then be acquired legally by foreigners and were therefore held at first by Japanese friends, since this arrangement seemed for a time satisfactory both to the Japanese Government and to the missionaries. The latter were able to secure the substantial advantages of possession; and the Government, through this formal Japanese ownership, avoided the inconveniences of extraterritorial jurisdiction. After a few years, however, the rising tide of nationalism developed a strong feeling against Japanese who held property for the use of foreigners. In the winter of 1893–94, there was pending in the Imperial Diet a bill to confiscate all such holdings and to penalize further the Japanese who were involved in them. Though the Government was expected to oppose the measure, the popular feeling was so intense that the Japanese who held titles to the Kyoto houses were unwilling to retain them. The property was accordingly turned over to the Doshisha Company, which, in return, agreed to give the mission occupancy of the premises for a long term at what was considered a merely nominal rental; even so much of this rental as remained after the payment of taxes was to be deducted from the annual subsidy paid by the Board to the institution. 'It was,' as Greene wrote afterward, 'intended both by the Trustees and our Committee that the arrangement should make it impossible for any one to say that the Trustees were only nominal owners.' Nevertheless, there were differences of opinion as to the precise extent and character of the Board's equity in the pro-

perty; and these differences were naturally brought to the surface, when the possibility of further coöperation between the Board and the Doshisha was called in question.

Though Greene believed that the Doshisha trustees were not displaying sufficient regard for the moral, as distinguished from the legal, claims of the mission, he appreciated the difficulties with which they had to contend. He realized that they could not ignore the strong public feeling against foreign control of educational institutions and mentioned by way of illustration a drastic regulation prepared by a recent Minister of Education which would have excluded the Doshisha and other mission schools from 'certain important privileges which he was about to confer on other non-government institutions'; the reason given was that the foreign connections of the mission schools 'tended to unfit them to be training places for the youth of Japan.' This particular measure was dropped, but the underlying idea was not forgotten. Under these circumstances, he wrote: 'We must not be too severe in our condemnation of the efforts of the Doshisha Trustees . . . to protect themselves.' After all, he argued, they were justified in seeking to maintain the general principle of 'full legal control of the funds entrusted to them.' On the specific question of the Kyoto houses he agreed that the Japanese Christians had yielded too much to the prevailing chauvinism; but Americans were not in a position to be censorious in their criticism. Recalling 'how many good men were carried off their feet by the Know-Nothing movement in New England,' he was 'disposed to be lenient' in his judgment of the Japanese. He believed that the case of the Trustees was stronger than most of his colleagues realized and that they must be acquitted 'of conscious wrong doing.'

Without yielding any question of principle, the Board might well, Greene believed, accept something less than its full rights. 'Principle must not be sacrificed, that goes without saying, but our true policy must be characterized by a

calm patience.' Many of his collèagues shared this view, but others were less inclined to compromise. There were, he wrote early in 1894, 'two parties among us — one which has strong convictions and is ready for what might be called an up and down policy, while the other with convictions not less strong feels a keen sense of duty toward the young men who have been lifted out of heathenism, in part at least by the work of the mission, and is impressed by the need of great patience and great sympathy.'

Feeling strongly the need of a more detached view of the situation than was possible to the men on the ground, Greene was among the first to advocate the sending of a deputation from the American Board, to study at first-hand not only the Doshisha difficulties but the general situation confronting the mission. This deputation should include, he thought, not only men intimately associated with the Boston office, but others more representative to the supporting churches. Above all, it was important not to prejudge the questions at issue: 'A deputation which comes out with a theory to enforce would be a nuisance, but one which comes to gather facts and give the missionaries a chance to see how these facts impress a fresh and open mind would be of immense advantage to any mission.' 'Incidentally,' too, it could furnish 'a complete answer to the frivolous criticism of the steamers and hotels which despicable though it be in itself has yet cost the mission boards the confidence of many Christian people.' The executive committee of the mission finally sent a formal request for such a deputation and Greene asked for prompt action. Postponement would 'imperil our entire work'; one member of the mission had already resigned, and in case of further delay other resignations were likely to follow. In response to this appeal, the Board sent out in the autumn of 1895, a deputation of four members, including besides Secretary James L. Barton, who had lately been taken from the missionary service in the Near East to replace the veteran Secretary

Clark, two well-known Congregational clergymen and one layman.

Arriving at the end of September, the deputation spent about two months in Japan conferring with members of the mission and with the Japanese Christians. As a member of the committee to receive the visitors, Greene had an early opportunity to present his own views, which he embodied in a careful written statement. He pointed out that the existing controversy could not be considered as a merely local phenomenon; in some of its aspects, it illustrated the sort of 'morbid patriotism' which could be found all over the world. Recognition of this fact should lead to 'very great charity for individuals' who had been carried away by the prevailing currents of opinion. Though he confessed to having been occasionally 'excited almost beyond self-control by some instances of rank injustice toward individual colleagues and toward the mission as a whole,' he realized that the men responsible honestly believed they were in the right. 'It may be necessary to condemn the acts, but the actors deserve sympathy and consideration.' It would be enough for the missionary group to satisfy its own sense of justice; it should rather be prepared to 'waive rights which in our view are clearly ours' when 'the Japanese sense of justice does not sustain our view.'

He believed that in the future the coöperation of the missionaries with the Japanese Christians, in the Doshisha as elsewhere, should, in general, take the form of personal rather than financial assistance. Such a policy with 'full recognition of administrative independence on the part of the Trustees and Japanese Faculty' would yield the best results. 'We might justly claim much more than this, but I do not believe that any such claim would lead to harmonious coöperation.' An earlier letter indicates more definitely what he had in mind. The Board should relieve itself from responsibility for the policies of the Doshisha in controverted matters by with-

drawing its subsidy 'as soon as possible without giving the appearance of petulance'; but at the same time should give the service of some of its missionaries as teachers. They might thus, without assuming responsibility for administrative measures, continue to exert an effective Christian influence.

Even when the attitude of the trustees themselves seemed quite unpromising, Greene hoped for such a statement of the Board's position as would make possible a successful appeal to right-minded Japanese. Though he disliked the idea of appealing to the courts, he believed that if it were found necessary to sue for the recovery of the Doshisha endowment, Japanese judges could be counted on for substantial justice: 'I should not expect to bring the suit, but I think the chance of success would be shown to be so strong that the hope of continuing the school without our support would disappear and a reconstruction of the Board of Trustees would be assented to. The Japanese Courts make much of equity.' A conversation with Captain Brinkley, of the 'Japan Mail,' who stood in close relations with such 'Elder Statesmen' as Ito and Inouye, led Greene to believe that attacks on the mission schools did not 'have the sympathy of the really responsible men in the Government,' who felt 'the need of new sanctions for moral conduct,' sanctions which purely secular education did not adequately supply.

In another chapter reference will be made to later adjustments which enabled Japanese and foreigners to coöperate in the interest of the Doshisha; but the immediate results were disappointing. The deputation returned without having accomplished what had been hoped from it and the coöperation of the Board with the Doshisha was temporarily abandoned. The Board withdrew its subsidy and the missionary teachers decided to give up their places in the faculty. Meantime the Doshisha trustees passed a formal vote not to receive the Board subsidy after the close of the year 1896, but acknow-

ledged their obligations to the Board for help previously given and offered the free use of the mission houses in Kyoto for a term of fifteen years. A further step was taken away from the original conception of the Doshisha when, a little later, the trustees, by repealing first the sixth, and then the second, articles of Chapter I, eliminated the constitutional provisions making Christianity 'the basis of the moral education promoted by this Company,' in all departments of the institution.

It was under these trying circumstances that, at the end of seven years' service in Tokyo, Greene left his post for another furlough in the United States. It was evident that the missionary work of the future would have to contend with difficulties and submit to limitations not previously recognized. There was widespread disappointment, if not discouragement, in missionary circles and Greene himself felt the strain keenly. Though he tried to eliminate personal feeling and keep up friendly relations with the radical leaders, there were inevitably some trying experiences. In a journal entry of December 30, 1895, Mrs. Greene observed that the year just passed had been the hardest in their missionary experience. Familiar faces were missed from the church meetings, and the attitude of many old friends seemed unaccountable. Her husband was 'busy all the time writing letters or racking his brain for some solution of the problems connected with the Doshisha'; and she felt strongly the need of his getting some relief.

Fortunately for Greene, the necessity of gradually transferring leadership and responsibility to the Japanese had long been in his mind and he had been consciously preparing for such a readjustment. In 1890, he was sure that the Christian movement would go on, but uncertain what part the missionary would have in it. Two years later, he declared himself against any substantial increase in numbers, and in January, 1893, he took similar ground, citing a recent article in

the Japanese periodical 'Cosmos,' which declared that the missionaries should become 'an integral part of the Japanese church organization,' accepting from that organization such duties as might be assigned to them. He thought this idea would be vigorously pushed and added: 'I am not at all certain that the proposed scheme would not work well and serve to prepare the way for a large increase in the work.' Two months later, he discussed this 'independence movement' again and pointed out that it looked 'decidedly toward a marked diminution in the number of missionaries, and the younger men as well as a good share of the older will be made to feel that they are not wanted.'

Greene's general outlook at this time is perhaps best expressed in a small pamphlet entitled 'The Outlook for Christianity in Japan,' embodying the substance of an address delivered before the conference of Tokyo missionaries, December 6, 1894. He began by reviewing briefly the successive stages of missionary work — the meager results before 1871, the rapid growth of the later seventies and the eighties, and the less encouraging prospects of the nineties, when it was 'seen plainly that the growth was less healthy than had been supposed.' From this retrospect he turned to a survey of some obstacles to the spread of Christianity. One of them was, he thought, 'the lack of a vivid sense of personality on the part of the Japanese.' This difficulty had been partly overcome in the earlier stages of missionary work, because of the close contact then existing between the missionary and the individual convert; but of late, the older philosophies appeared to be reasserting themselves: 'Even in Christian circles the attempt is made to trim Christianity to the mere measure of a pantheistic faith.' Men holding such views emphasized 'ethical Christianity, but their grasp of the personal element is weak.' Their faith could not rise to 'passionate loyalty'; 'in the face of a strong social movement it fades away.'

Other factors were distinctly international in character. For example, the religious leaders of Christendom were largely preoccupied with the intellectual readjustments resulting from certain aspects of modern thought. 'It is not strange, that in such a time of intellectual ferment there is some letting down from the high standards of evangelistic enthusiasm of more peaceful days.' In Japan liberal thinking was necessarily less modified than in Western Christendom by the conservative influence of deeply rooted traditions. Consequently 'interpretations were put upon the doctrines of Christianity which appall men who are in full sympathy with the so-called new theology.' Western nationalism also had its influence on the religious situation, not only by developing national consciousness in its usual forms, but by suggesting to some of the leaders an 'opportunity to originate in Japan a distinct form of Christianity.'

Nevertheless, Greene refused to be discouraged. 'The great movement has slackened . . . but it has not ceased.' One source of encouragement he found in that very contact with the Western world which had been in some respects a source of embarrassment. 'Japan, in joining hands with the nations of the West, has become a partner in their history; its main current is in the direction of Christianity.' Denying that Western influence on Japanese life and thought had been merely superficial, he contrasted the social ideals of the old régime, as illustrated in such books as Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan,' with those which had since come to prevail — increased respect for the rights of the common man, the limitation of the *patria potestas* in the family, the growing independence of the courts.

Believing that the future of Christianity in Japan was closely involved in the whole problem of her relations with Western Christendom, he set himself the question: 'Through what channels does this influence from the West flow?' For the direct missionary work he made no sweeping claims: 'I do

not say that this is the most important, but simply that the influence of the missionary is great and is important.' It was felt not only by converts to Christianity but by others who in varied ways came under the influence of Christian thought. He mentioned by way of illustration two addresses which he had recently heard from adherents of one of the irregular Shinto sects, one of whom seemed to have definitely abandoned the nominal polytheism of his sect for a monotheism derived from the New Testament. This man was rebuked for his supposedly Christian views; but his critic proceeded to deliver a discourse 'which contained several almost verbatim quotations from the sixth chapter of Matthew.'

Greene's critical attitude toward the foreign communities has been mentioned; but he did not ignore their positive contributions. Through these communities the better, as well as the less desirable, aspects of Western individualism had made themselves felt. Their influence was in favor of better legal protection for personal rights and, on the whole, for higher standards of commercial morality. They could show also attractive examples of Christian family life. Other evidences of close contact with Western Christendom were found in the wide diffusion of Western literature through the schools; in the modification of the Japanese language under the influence of Western modes of thought; and in the constant interchange of news, which tended to accelerate intellectual, as well as economic, movements. Refusing to limit himself to a strictly ecclesiastical point of view, he regarded even the lessened personal influence of the missionary as natural and not wholly regrettable. 'The immediate result might seem better if we could transplant our faith into the hearts of our Japanese hearers as freely as in other days, but that is impossible, and it is doubtless well that it should be so.' 'How far particular organizations of Christians will prosper we may not know, but that the spirit of Christianity is to rule in Japan, we cannot doubt.'

Taken all in all, these first years of Greene's life in Tokyo make up a record in which fruitful and satisfying activities are mingled with many anxieties and disappointments. His own strength and that of his wife had been severely taxed, making relief of some kind imperative. He felt also the need of conference with his older children, four of whom had come of age since his last visit to the United States and whose personal problems he never lost sight of in the pressure of his own work. Accordingly, in 1896, he applied for another furlough which he proposed to spend in the United States. In May, 1897, he sailed for home and remained in the United States until the autumn of 1898.

CHAPTER XV

PROBLEMS OF CHURCH AND STATE

It was an interesting company that embarked with the Greenes for Vancouver on the Canadian Pacific steamer, Empress of India. The most distinguished personage was the 'Elder Statesman,' Marquis Ito, who interested himself in the deck sports sufficiently to offer a prize, won by Greene's youngest daughter. Other members of the company were Sir Ernest Satow and the English parliamentarian, Arnold Morley, the latter a prime mover in the social activities which enlivened the voyage.

In the summer of 1897, the Greenes settled down for a little more than a year at Arlington, Massachusetts, where, within easy reach of Boston and Cambridge, they could bring together, for longer or shorter periods, all their sons and daughters. The past seven years had naturally brought marked changes in the family circle. The two older children had finished their academic training and the eldest son was a member of the faculty of the University of Illinois. Of the four younger brothers, the first, after taking his bachelor's degree at Harvard, was half through his professional studies at the medical school; a second, recently engaged to be married, had just come back from a year as a private tutor abroad to enter the Harvard Law School; a third was to enter the freshman class that autumn. One daughter was a junior at Radcliffe and the two younger children were sent to the Arlington High School.

The year at Arlington brought much needed rest and some interesting experiences; but after life abroad for many years, the problems of household management, financial and otherwise, under radically different conditions from those they had known in the New England of their youth or in the Tokyo

they had just left, proved difficult. After years of separation, there were mutual adjustments to be made; but the sense of family solidarity was strong, a solidarity made possible largely by the pains which both the father and the mother had taken with their correspondence.

Greene was frequently called upon for addresses; his wife also did some speaking. There were conferences and correspondence with the 'Missionary Rooms' in Boston; and the unsolved problem of the Doshisha was a subject frequently discussed. In October, 1897, he attended the annual meeting of the Board, at New Haven, and spoke in one of the historic churches on the Common, renewing family associations with the old town. He found time also for a few articles — an editorial in the 'Boston Advertiser' of January 10, 1898, on the 'Cabinet Crisis in Japan'; an article in 'Leslie's Weekly' (April 7) on the 'New Life in Japan'; one on 'The Missionaries and the Caroline Islands' in the 'Boston Evening Transcript'; and another in 'The Outlook' on 'Party Government in Japan' (July 30). The 'Outlook' article took a hopeful view of the prospect for responsible government on English lines and emphasized the responsiveness of the Japanese to Western influences.

To Americans interested in Pacific and Far Eastern problems, the spring and summer of 1898 were a stirring time. Greene followed closely the progress of the Spanish War and especially the course of events in the Pacific. He had not approved Cleveland's course in withdrawing the Hawaiian treaty and was anxious about Japanese policies in that quarter. In July, 1897, he wrote that he had been 'strongly urged' to prepare for the 'North American Review' or some similar magazine an article on the Hawaiian problem, and would try, though with misgivings, to see 'whether I can meet what I consider the demands of the case and yet deal tenderly with the feelings of the Japanese.' He thought the maintenance of the *status quo* would result 'in constant fric-

tion both here and in Hawaii and eventually in war and bloodshed.' The outbreak of the war, of course, settled the issue in favor of annexation.

When Dewey's victory at Manila was unexpectedly followed by a movement for the annexation of the Spanish islands in the Pacific, Greene took an active interest in the discussion, an interest perhaps stimulated by recent service in Japan for the Micronesian Mission of the American Board. That mission had been founded as early as 1852 and it was felt in missionary circles that the elimination of the unfriendly Spanish administration would be advantageous to their work. Greene did not believe that a native government under a protectorate would be satisfactory. It could hardly hold its own against such unruly elements as the 'beach-combers,' who 'would be restless under any plan looking like "missionary rule."' The better plan, he thought, for all concerned would be 'to have Germany take the Carolines and the Ladrones,' if she would agree to 'recognize the rights accorded to American citizens by the various native authorities.'

His general attitude toward the competing European interests, more particularly England and Germany, is suggested by a reference at this time to the Philippine problem. Like most thoughtful Americans in the Far East, he appreciated the importance of Anglo-American coöperation, if it could be had on the right lines; but he also hoped for a friendly understanding between England and Germany. Under certain conditions Germany might take the whole, or a part, of the Philippines: 'Provided Germany is sufficiently humble, I should be very glad to see her take the Philippines or such a part of them as it does not seem best for us to retain. I believe that such a course would detach Germany from the continental combination against Great Britain which I believe is forming and which I believe is the great menace to the peace of the world. If Germany should regard such a concession as forced from us by her threatening attitude, the

moral effect would be nil; but if she regarded it as a sign that we should welcome her coöperation in our efforts on behalf of the belated peoples of the Far East, I think the effect would be most happy, and I do not think it would be difficult for us to prove to Great Britain that such a course would be for her interest and for that of Japan as well.' He went on to say, however, that the United States might well establish a protectorate over the island of Luzon. In the end, he was convinced that American occupation of the Philippines was the best solution of a complex problem and in the interest of the Filipino peoples.

As their year in America drew to its close, both Greene and his wife looked forward with satisfaction to their work and their friends in Japan; but from a family point of view, it was a trying time. Their youngest children had reached the stage in their education when it was necessary to leave them behind. Devoted as the father and mother were to their children, it was not easy to go back alone. Fortunately, however, they were returning to familiar surroundings, and to a widening circle of friends, both among the Japanese and in the foreign community at Tokyo. Before long also their household was reinforced by the return of one of the daughters, on whose marriage in 1901 to an American professor in the Imperial University, their eldest daughter joined them. In 1904, a younger son who had entered the consular service was sent to Japan from which he was subsequently transferred to posts in Siberia, Manchuria, and China. In the same year, their youngest boy was graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis; and, shortly afterward he was ordered to stations in the Far East which made possible occasional family meetings. Meantime, correspondence enabled Greene and his wife to continue with their sons and daughters across the Pacific, a contact closer than is usually achieved by parents who have no such physical obstacles to overcome.

Appreciation of the problems of the younger generation in his own family no doubt helped the veteran missionary to maintain sympathetic relations with those both in America and Japan whose ways of thinking were quite different from those prevailing in his youth, or even from his own mature convictions. In a letter of the year 1902, defending his colleagues and the *Kumi-ai* churches against certain conservative critics, he remarked that the mission was, after all, 'fully up to the standards now current in New England,' and referred to his own difficulty with current modes of thought:

'To one brought up in the N. E. [New England] atmosphere of forty years ago, the new ways of putting things do not commend themselves . . . but at the same time there is no denying the evangelistic spirit of those who have adopted the new theology *con amore*. . . . We all make the same use of light and find the same comfort and health and joy in it, notwithstanding the fact that some of us may have very crude ideas about it and its influence upon the life of men and animals and plants.' It was quite impossible to prevent the influence of contemporary science upon theology; 'one might as well attempt to harangue a snow storm as to make a crusade against it. . . . I doubt if many men of my age will succeed in making the adjustment. They may, however, be reasonably asked to be patient and generous in their thought of all those who holding a different philosophy prize the light of the Gospel and believe in its saving power.'

In his theological magazine, with its selections from contemporary religious publications, Greene had emphasized 'a mediating type of theology' and he wrote in 1903 that he did not 'feel called upon to engage in polemics either for or against any party'; because of this attitude some of the more conservative missionaries proposed a new publication which should be 'a real defender of the faith.' Though he could not readily adjust himself to some aspects of the 'new theology,' he was strongly opposed to the 'Fundamentalism' of his day.

MARY J. GREENE
1899

Of a well-known American evangelist, belonging to that school, who had recently visited Japan, he wrote, that, if such a man were thought to represent a proper theological standard, 'I am afraid a good many of us would fall short.' Such teaching seemed to him half a century behind even the conservative Andover theology of his own student days.

Though always anxious to find common ground with those who differed from him, whether in a conservative or radical sense, Greene was not inclined to obscure real issues. To an Anglican high churchman, who happened to be a warm personal friend, he wrote about 1900: 'Your ecclesiastical structure is built upon the sand and cannot long maintain itself against modern exegesis . . . though episcopacy as a form of government may have, for aught I know, a prosperous future.' In the same letter, however, he spoke of the satisfaction he would take in being able to secure substantial support for the college established in Tokyo by the American Episcopal Church. Feeling as he did in such matters, he could not readily understand 'how others can take a view of the Church so mechanical, if I may speak frankly, as to prevent a reciprocity in this regard. I hope it may not always be so.' His references to his 'radical' friends show a similar spirit.

When a Unitarian friend emphasized the importance for the Japanese people of the conception of personal relationship with a personal God and Father, Greene spoke appreciatively of this and similar utterances from the same quarter. They were, he thought, useful by way of 'protest against a materialistic view of life.' After all, however, some questions had to be frankly met: 'Do we want to soften down our theism so that it will not antagonize a Buddhist or Confucianist?' There was vitality and inspiration in positive convictions: 'If we believe in a personal God who is our Heavenly Father and who has revealed himself in the face of Jesus Christ, even a small congregation which represents that faith embodies vastly more ground for encouragement

than one of a thousand which represents indifferentism.'

After thirty years of service, it was natural that a pioneer missionary should turn from retrospect to ask himself what was to be the outcome of all that had been done by himself and his associates. What was to be the future of Christianity in Japan? In 1899, a few months after returning to his Tokyo post, he was invited to attend the exercises commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the first *Kumi-ai* churches and, in a letter expressing his regret that he could not be present, he set down some thoughts which the occasion brought to his mind. The chief gift of Christian missions to Japan was, he declared, '*a new conception of the value of man*' [italics his], the idea 'that every man, woman, and child stands in direct personal relations to the one living God, our Father in heaven. In other words, every man, however lowly, is a child of God and clothed with corresponding dignity.' The comparatively small group of Christians could best enter into the full meaning of this thought; but its influence in producing a new sense of the worth and dignity of the individual had been much more widely felt and had been a prime factor in the recent progress of the nation. This conception had 'not been proclaimed solely by the Christians; but it is none the less a Christian thought.'

In this view of the essential purpose of Christian missions, as distinguished from formal ecclesiastical programmes, Greene found his chief hope for the future. In the face of many discouragements and the defection of trusted leaders, he believed that the Christian gospel was making its way. 'It is clearer than ever to-day that Christian ideals of life and duty are bound to rule in Japanese society.' In an address delivered in 1900 at a general conference of Protestant Christian missions, he recurred to the same thought. Referring to the relatively influential position of the 'Christian community' — its representation, out of all proportion to its numerical strength, in government departments, in educa-

tion, in journalism, and especially in philanthropic institutions, he maintained that the influence accorded to the Christians in such work was not accidental, but 'an unconscious tribute to the faith which has made them what they are.' In concluding this survey, he emphasized once more the international aspect of the Christian movement: 'If Japan shares with Western lands the doubts and conflicts of these troublous times, it is because she has become a true sister nation. When they shall have fought their way to a clearer and more definite faith, she will stand by their side and lift her voice in the same glad song of victory.'

Confident as he was in the ultimate success of the Christian movement, there was still the practical question of the future of foreign missions as an instrument for that purpose. Greene had raised the issue comparatively early and was quite prepared to believe that the rôle of the missionary would be one of gradually lessening importance. He had always been sympathetic with the desire of Japanese Christians to take up the leadership, leaving the missionaries in the position simply of friends and advisers. The intensified nationalism of the nineties naturally pointed in the same direction and in the opening years of the new century Japan was winning its place among the 'Great Powers.' These phases of contemporary politics were inevitably reflected in the religious situation. In response to a question asked by Secretary Barton in 1905, Greene showed that the problem was much on his mind. 'You ask,' he wrote, 'whether the Japanese people will be willing to accept missionaries from the West much longer. Some of us are asking the same question with some anxiety. . . . My own feeling is that the Japanese are right in the main in their desire to control the growth of their own national life and that we must meet them with a full and frank admission that our position is purely auxiliary and that they must be the ultimate judges as to the time when they can best do without our help. If we go to them

in that spirit, I think a *modus vivendi* can probably be secured.'

Greene's most maturely considered statement on this subject was probably that made in his address at a meeting of 'student volunteers' at Karuizawa, in August, 1906, and subsequently published under the title of 'The Future of the Missionary in Japan.' 'The Japanese nation,' he remarked, had 'been at school for many years' and a new generation had grown up with new aspirations. Not only had Japan's military power been recognized, but her industrial progress had attracted the attention of Western financiers; her public men and her scholars were getting a serious hearing.

In religious enterprises also the Japanese had had their successes; they were 'accustomed to plan and to do large things.' If the Japanese were thus justified in claiming leadership, the missionaries had no cause for regret: 'We rejoice that they feel their strength and gratefully acknowledge that on the whole they can furnish leaders whom we may wisely follow.' If the Japanese were not content with the old relationships, the missionaries themselves were not, 'and ought not to be content with them.' The mission organizations would continue, but they should henceforth 'deal simply with the relation of missionaries to one another and to the boards at home, leaving the missionary to arrange for himself his relations with the Japanese churches whose helper he should seek to be.' As in earlier years, he stressed the financial independence of the Japanese churches. 'A mission which gives subsidies almost inevitably gives them on the basis of a creed, and thus, to a certain extent at least, assumes the attitude of a conservator of a special theology and erects here and there barriers against error. Such a course seems to me radically wrong. It is bound to produce friction.'

Under these new conditions, the individual missionary would give his personal services when needed, attaching himself to some local church or visiting the Japanese workers in

various parts of the field. In neither case should he exercise any formal authority. The new relationship would bring its perplexities and make increasingly necessary the thorough equipment of the missionary for his task. He must have a more adequate knowledge of the Japanese language, through which alone a real understanding of the national spirit could be secured, and become a serious student of Japanese topics, including the historic religions. On the other hand, he must keep in touch with the developing thought of the West and do what he could to maintain healthy relations between the foreign communities and the Japanese people among whom they lived. Finally, the missionary must do his part in maintaining a sound perspective: 'If we are to aid our Japanese associates in building up that great and united church of Christ in Japan, which I trust the fancy of each one of us pictures, it is only by showing that our counsels, whether they deal with great things or small, are the fruit of a wide view of the field which we cultivate in common and are the servants of an unselfish purpose.'

For the missionary work in general, the 'reaction' of the nineties was succeeded in the following decade by a revival of interest and by renewed, though not rapid, advance. There were still differences of opinion; but it was possible to discuss them more quietly, and personal relationships, severely strained in the years of controversy, were renewed on the old footing of mutual confidence. On certain matters, former associates had to 'agree to disagree,' while working cordially together for those common interests which still remained.

In Greene's attitude toward his missionary colleagues, there was now, more than in the past, a kind of fatherly interest. In the ranks of the older men, there were already serious gaps. Gordon, with whom his relations had been peculiarly intimate and sympathetic, died in 1900. Others had withdrawn from the mission or were showing the strain of long service. These losses naturally quickened his interest

in the younger men then coming into positions of responsibility. Writing in 1902, he emphasized the need in certain educational centers of young men, men of vigor and enthusiasm, able to sympathize with young people. He believed too that some of his younger colleagues had a better linguistic equipment than their seniors. Writing of one of them, Greene commented on his ability as a speaker and added: 'While some of us older men can get on pretty well in speaking, one or two almost superlatively in certain kinds of public speaking, there can be no question, I think, but that . . . [certain junior members of the mission] have secured a firmer grasp of the idiom, in other words, that they come much nearer than any of their seniors to the condition of those who have learned to speak the language in childhood.'

Greene understood also the more personal problems of the younger men and the special trials of workers in comparatively isolated stations. Of one such worker, he wrote that he would 'lose his grasp of mind and force' unless he could have 'more contact with men.' Another was able, because of unusual linguistic ability, 'to get far more society out of his Japanese associates than most men'; but the sense of isolation was 'wearing upon him. I have traveled with him and I know.'

Generous appreciation of new points of view naturally helped the older man to keep in touch with his juniors. When one of them was proposed for a professorship in theology at the Doshisha, Greene observed that he had been criticized as 'unduly radical' and agreed that he was a 'thoroughly modern thinker'; but insisted on his unique qualifications for the post. A similar attitude toward youth comes out in an appeal for reënforcements which he drafted in 1900: 'In Japan, certainly, the gospel message, in an especial sense is addressed to the young. They are less fettered by tradition and family associations than others; their minds are more open to the appeals of Christianity. Hence other things being

equal, a young missionary with the thoughts, sympathies and enthusiasms of youth will always have a great advantage when he stands before such young men.' In general, however, he did not, during these later years, favor any large expansion of personnel. Gaps should be filled and some new positions created; but it was well to move slowly and see how the situation would develop.

Always deeply interested in the linguistic training of the new recruits, Greene was able to bring to bear on their problems the results of long experience and study. In 1903, he published, at the suggestion of the advisory committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, a short pamphlet embodying not only his own ideas, but also suggestions from such experts as Basil Chamberlain, Walter Dening, and certain members of the British and American legations. It was assumed that the student would give his entire time for two years to the study of the language and there were suggestions about Japanese composition, the memorizing of Chinese characters, and the training of the ear. Appreciating fully the importance of thorough drill, he also urged the advantage of securing a Japanese teacher who, without knowing English, had some ingenuity in making conversation. Trips into the country were highly desirable, especially to places off the beaten tracks, where 'a purely Japanese atmosphere' could be secured.

In this programme, Greene explained that he was looking toward a standard, by no means unattainable, but 'much higher' than he had himself attained. There was little, however, in his advice, which did not grow out of his own practical experience. Few missionaries knew better what it meant to get out of a foreign into a distinctly Japanese environment. Though much occupied with desk work, he did not lose his interest in touring, and he valued most the more informal kinds of intercourse — 'talks in the young men's clubs, around the brazier in winter, or at some little watering place in

summer'; and visits at private houses with friendly conversations about domestic matters.

Wherever he went, he saw the mingling of old and new in the life about him. A journey to the Northern island of Hokkaido, undertaken in 1900 as a member of the 'Outlook Committee' of the mission, led him to contrast conditions there with those at Niigata on the Western coast. In both, the prospects seemed favorable for missionary effort; but conservative influences were much stronger in the West than in the North where everything was new — 'in many places as new as the state of Washington' — and where 'old traditions have relatively little power. Even about Niigata, however, the new industrialism was making its way. The Standard Oil Company was buying heavily and many thought it would soon control the entire output. In all this there were great opportunities. To many Japanese the new order would bring greater freedom, with the possibility of greater openness to Christian teaching. If, however, these opportunities were not seized promptly, there would be 'grave dangers, intensified by the secularizing tendencies of rapidly growing wealth.'

Of the general problems which confronted the mission in 1898, none was more critical than that of the Doshisha. The controversies already described had terminated the relations previously existing between the institution and the American Board; if coöperation was to be resumed, some new solution had to be worked out. During Greene's absence in the United States, the controversy reached a sort of climax. The American Board, holding that the action of the Doshisha constituted a misuse of trust funds, engaged legal counsel and prepared to test the issue in the courts. At that moment, however, the Trustees then in office prepared the way for reorganization by presenting their resignations.

During the early months of 1899, as a result of conferences participated in by representatives of the alumni, of the Japanese donors, and of the American Board, a new constitution

was adopted and a new Board of Trustees organized. This reorganized Board was to represent all three of the above-mentioned groups. Representatives of the alumni and of the Japanese donors were first selected; and in the choice of the latter, as in the preceding discussion, a significant part was taken by such representative public men as Count Okuma and Baron Shibusawa. By this time, Greene was back in Tokyo. On February 25, 1899, he reported that at the close of a five-day meeting of the new trustees, they were all invited to dinner at his house. Seven of them came and 'we had a very pleasant time together.' 'Excepting that no suitable candidate for President seems immediately available, everything looks hopeful.'

In the following spring, the Boston office selected, 'in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution of the Doshisha, and also in response to a direct request from the trustees,' three American members of the Doshisha Board: Davis, whose choice was naturally indicated by his long years of devoted service to the institution; Albrecht, a younger man whose scholarship was much respected by his colleagues; and Greene himself, whose position in Tokyo enabled him to keep in touch with the strong group of alumni in that city. With the restoration of the constitutional provisions safeguarding the religious character of the institution, and with the election of a president and principal in sympathetic relations with the missionary group, the Doshisha, which had suffered severely as a result of the recent disputes, seemed in a fair way to recover its former influence.

It is a fact of some interest that the first two presidents of the Doshisha, under the new organization, Messrs. Saibara and Kataoka, were both well-known members of the Imperial Diet. Kataoka was, at the time of his selection, president of the Lower House and was, in Greene's opinion, a man of marked ability as well as high character. Though holding for many years 'a most conspicuous position in Japanese

politics' and involved 'in the hottest of the many hot party contests,' no one had even ventured to question his purity of purpose.

Service on the Board of Trustees brought with it closer contact with the business problems, as well as the educational policy, of the Doshisha. Greene became, with two sympathetic Japanese colleagues, Messrs. Tomeoka and Kono, an active member of the finance committee of the Board. The former was a *Kumi-ai* minister and a leader in philanthropic work, especially for men in penal institutions. The latter was a successful business man. Meetings of this committee, sometimes held at Greene's house, involved discussions not only of expenditures but of investment policies. He had a real interest in such questions and gained new insight into some aspects of Japanese economic development. Among the corporations in which the Doshisha held stock were the Imperial Industrial Bank and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, now one of the great shipping companies of the world. He had not been on the Board many months before he was invited to attend a meeting of the stockholders of the latter corporation.

These financial responsibilities brought some experiences of a less agreeable kind. The reorganization of 1899 had left some heart-burnings, and six years later Greene reported 'a sharp attack upon the financial management by some half-a-dozen young business men among the alumni.' A public meeting was called, apparently with the intention of forcing a reorganization of the Board of Trustees; but 'sharp speeches' were fortunately succeeded by genuine efforts, on both sides, to reach a fair understanding. On Greene's suggestion to one of the radical leaders, a committee was appointed to 'prepare a plan for reconciliation.' In the end, the Board was strengthened by filling certain vacancies and, for a time at least, the Doshisha appeared to be in a better position than before this controversy occurred. The success of these negotiations was probably due in part to Greene's disposition to consider sym-

pathetically, even when he did not wholly approve, the views of his Japanese associates. During one controversy, he remarked that the obstacles to successful coöperation were not all on one side. He mentioned, for instance, the 'unduly critical attitude of the mission' toward the Japanese trustees, some of whose difficulties were not fully appreciated.

During this period, the Doshisha trustees were much troubled by certain measures of the Imperial Department of Education affecting religious instruction in private schools. In May, 1899, Greene reported to the Boston office that regulations then under consideration might, if approved without modification, prove disastrous to missionary institutions. Their effect would be to withdraw from graduates of private schools, which included in their programmes either religious worship or religious instruction, two important privileges: the privilege of proceeding to higher schools in the Government system and that of postponing military service. Such action would be especially serious for students in the 'middle school' of the Doshisha, who looked forward to official careers requiring further training in Government institutions, and it was estimated that this department would lose two-thirds or three-fourths of its students.

The general theory of the proposed regulations was apparently that schools which desired the privileges resulting from a kind of affiliation with the national system of education should, even though supported wholly from private funds, conform to the national policy of secular education. Conceding that the Government might be 'technically within its rights,' Greene pointed out the unfairness of the new policy in the case of institutions already at work which had received substantial encouragement from representative Japanese statesmen and had invested considerable sums of money in the reasonable expectation that their work would not be interfered with.

Though opposed in general to invoking diplomatic support

in such controversies, Greene felt that the possibility in this case of serious friction justified informal and friendly representations by the American Minister. Accordingly, on June 27, 1899, he presented to Mr. Buck a careful memorandum, setting forth the case for the missionary institutions. He showed that, 'statesmen occupying the highest positions' in the imperial service had not only made large contributions themselves, but had solicited gifts from others for the support of a university 'whose Christian character was set forth in the most explicit terms in the prospectus, on the basis of which funds were solicited.' These facts did not justify any legal claim against the Japanese Government; but they did afford 'ample ground for a friendly and courteous request' that the history of Christian institutions in Japan be carefully considered.

One argument commonly used against the Christian schools was their supposedly anti-patriotic or even anti-social tendency. Greene answered this criticism by recalling the sympathetic attitude of the missionaries generally toward the Japanese Government and their sympathy with social-welfare movements. He recalled, for instance, the friendly attitude of the missionary body toward treaty revision, an attitude which he believed had been substantially helpful to the Japanese. The charge that Christian converts were denationalized was met by pointing out the loyal service of Christian officers and men in the late war. In civil life also they had given 'unmistakable evidence of their patriotism and efficiency,' as shown by a representation in the imperial administration and in the Diet far out of proportion to their small fraction of the total population. 'No other religion teaches more strenuously man's social obligations than does Christianity. To a Christian, no less than to a Shinto believer, duty to his country is a religious duty.' Christian emphasis on 'the value of the individual soul' did not imply a selfish view of life but carried with it as a 'necessary corol-

lary' a 'stern sense of duty.' The marked influence of the Christian community, notwithstanding its comparatively small numbers, was, he maintained, largely due to 'the intensity of its public spirit.'

So far from exerting an injurious influence on the national *morale*, Christian institutions were, he believed, making a notable contribution to national education. The public schools were still, as indicated by recent statistics, unable to provide for all the children of the people. Besides supplying this deficiency, the Christian schools were providing, through religious influences, a moral training recognized as valuable, even by those who stood outside of the Christian community. By way of illustration, Greene quoted the tribute of Marquis Saionji (an 'Elder Statesman') to 'one of the large Christian institutions' (the Doshisha): 'As regards scholarship, it is in my judgment the second private school in Japan; as regards the moral character of its students, it is the first.' Furthermore, it was the desire of those responsible for the management of the Christian institutions to coöperate loyally with the Government in the cause of education.

In the summer of 1899, the State Department in Washington, responding to a letter from the American Board, agreed to authorize the Tokyo legation, not only to make inquiries for the information of the Department, but also to make appropriate representations, in case such regulations appeared to trench upon private rights and equities, or to be at variance with precedents in other countries where public instruction was controlled by the State.

For the time being, however, the influences back of the new policy seemed too strong to be resisted and the Minister of Education issued instructions on the lines already indicated. When, therefore, the Doshisha filed its new constitution, its President was reminded that the clause making Christianity the basis of religious instruction in all departments would result in the withdrawal of privileges previously accorded;

and the Trustees found themselves in a trying situation. Finally, against the wishes of their American colleagues, the majority voted to file a memorandum with the Department of Education declaring that they were bound by the terms of their trust in relation to Christianity, but would 'avoid conflict with Instruction No. 12.' If this apparently ambiguous statement proved unacceptable, the President and the Dean were to close the 'Middle School,' which was the department most directly affected, with a large majority of the students.

The American trustees felt that the memorandum looked too much like an effort 'to evade an issue which ought to be squarely met'; and advocated giving up the Government license, with the special privileges which it conferred, confident that such a course would win the respect 'not of Christians only, but of all classes.' The supporters of the memorandum argued in reply that Christian ethics could still be taught and that, even without formal religious instruction, Christian teachers could make their influence felt. Though Greene did not approve of this course, he believed that the Japanese trustees, 'under extraordinary pressure' were trying to do their duty as they saw it. He was especially pleased by the courtesy shown in the debate. Fortunately, from his point of view, the Government refused to accept the memorandum, thus bringing the matter back to a definite question of principle.

Though the immediate result of the new regulations was a serious falling off in attendance at the four principal Christian schools, Greene refused to give up the fight and in collaboration with representatives of other missions continued to urge a reconsideration of 'Instruction No. 12,' or such an interpretation of it as might bring the desired relief. In his view the issues involved were of the most fundamental sort — official paternalism as against religious liberty and 'the right of parents to guide the education of their children.' 'If the present cast-iron school system is perpetuated and private

schools are all brought into it, as the Department of Education evidently intends they shall be, Japan cannot fail to lose ground.' He believed also that some Japanese statesmen could appreciate the force of these considerations. During the autumn and winter of 1899–1900, he acted with a committee of representatives from several missions, which arranged conferences with members of the ministry and other conspicuous political leaders.

In October, 1899, he participated in interviews with Count Kabayama, the Minister of Education, and his Vice-Minister. The Minister, though non-committal, appeared friendly and mentioned the high character of the early Doshisha graduates. The Vice-Minister, who was 'less sympathetic,' declared there was no chance of securing the withdrawal of the rule on religious instruction. Though in another interview the Minister of Education suggested the possibility of some compromise, Greene was anxious that the principle should be definitely settled. The question was, he thought, substantially this: 'Shall a private school supported entirely by private funds be allowed to conduct religious exercises without detriment to the civil privileges of its students, or in other words, shall the students of Christian schools be handicapped in their choice of a career simply because of the religious element in their education?' 'Our committee,' he added, 'proposes to continue its agitation until a clear and unmistakable negative to the second question is secured.'

Besides interviewing the officials immediately concerned, it was agreed to take the matter up with other influential leaders. In the closing weeks of 1899, Greene and his friend Imbrie of the Presbyterian mission discussed the problem informally with Marquis Ito and Count Okuma. The latter gentleman, who was then, as during most of his career, out of sympathy with the 'Elder Statesmen,' was himself the patron of an important private institution and was quite ready to

speak freely. He believed that the Department of Education had much to learn from the managers of private schools and assured the committee of his 'complete sympathy.' Ito, though naturally more guarded, was friendly, thought that the Department had made a mistake, and spoke of a probable change of policy. Both these men were familiar with the work of Neesima and had contributed to the Doshisha endowment.

Through Count Ito's good offices, Imbrie and Greene were able, on December 12th, to hold an interesting interview with Marquis Yamagata. Among the Genro, or 'Elder Statesmen,' who then dominated Japanese politics, Yamagata was supposed to represent the conservative and militarist element, in contrast with Ito who, though himself conservative, represented more distinctly the civilian element. In this interview, however, the old general was distinctly cordial and his visitors were encouraged by the sympathetic attitude of his private secretary who acted as interpreter.

With Yamagata, as with Okuma and Ito, the missionaries could take for granted some appreciation of the character and services of Neesima, and they explained that the object of the Christian schools was to produce men of that type. They were quite ready to meet any tests of educational efficiency which might be applied to other schools, whether public or private; but they could not limit themselves to secular education, since their primary purpose was to combine intellectual training 'with an earnest moral and religious purpose,' a combination believed to be 'essential to the well-being of society.' Furthermore, it was pointed out that mission schools, like other private institutions, could experiment more freely than those maintained by the Government, thus making available for Japanese education 'the results of a wider and more varied observation.' Finally, whatever concessions might be agreed to should be made public, and be of such a kind that the Christian schools might take advantage of them 'without incurring the suspicion of any evasion of the law of the land.'

In his reply, Yamagata agreed to reconsider the subject on the basis of the information just submitted. The outcome was still uncertain but Greene was encouraged to believe that there was no 'deepseated hostility' on the part of ministers toward the Christian schools. The influence of the Foreign Minister, Count Aoki, who had lived in Germany and received baptism there, was apparently used in favor of a liberal policy; and in 1901, after the fall of the Yamagata ministry, Greene reported that substantial concessions had been made: 'We have secured for our graduates the privilege of competition on equal terms with those from government schools for entrance into the higher government institutions. Thus we have all the privileges which the former Trustees sacrificed so much to get.'

The Doshisha was not the only educational institution in which Greene was actively interested. He served for many years on the mission committee for Kobe College, an institution for women which he hoped to see develop into a 'college of the Mount Holyoke type.' Though there were already a number of Government schools for girls, they could never, he thought, offer the kind of service possible in private institutions under religious influences. There was also a college for women associated with the Doshisha and, for a time, he favored the union of the two institutions, a combination which would, he thought, make possible 'the best girls' school in Japan, in support of which no subsidies, outside the services of the foreign teachers, would be required.' His colleagues, however, thought otherwise and both institutions have continued independently, with considerable success.

In addition to the specific business problems of the mission schools, Greene was obliged as a member of the *ad interim* committee of the mission to give much of his attention to the general question of legal protection for mission property under the new treaties. In 1899, the Japanese Government refused to register the titles of two pieces of real estate held in

Kobe by the treasurer of the American Board on the ground that as a non-resident he could not hold property for a foreign corporation. Furthermore, it was said, the Japanese civil code did not recognize foreign religious corporations. A little later, the Japanese authorities appeared willing to accept the 'consular land-registers' for existing titles; but this did not provide for possible future acquisitions. Under these circumstances, some new arrangement was obviously necessary. Accordingly, after prolonged negotiations with central and local authorities and consultations with the American legation, a new corporation, composed of members of the mission, was organized under the Japanese law and became the legal holder of most of the mission property. July 23, 1902, Greene notified the Boston office that this new corporation was 'at last licensed and registered'; 'a good piece of work well done,' as Secretary Barton said in a note of acknowledgment and congratulation. In connection with these efforts, he became sufficiently familiar with the Japanese land law, as applied to alien individuals and corporations, to speak with some authority on the issues subsequently raised by the anti-Japanese measures of the California legislature.

The business problems just referred to did not prevent the giving of considerable time to literary and editorial service. One enterprise of this kind was 'The Mission News' of which he assumed the editorship in 1900, and which was intended to serve as a medium of communication for the scattered members of the mission. He managed the paper for several years, enlarging its scope to include some general news and editorial comment on Japanese matters which he thought should have the attention of his colleagues and of friends in America. His most ambitious journalistic enterprise, however, in this period was the annual publication known as 'The Christian Movement in Its Relation to the New Life in Japan.' This publication, in which his special interests and point of view were perhaps better expressed than in any

other activity of his later years, was the direct outgrowth of a new movement for inter-denominational coöperation and must be considered in connection with that movement.

In the autumn of 1900, the second 'General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan' was held in Tokyo. There was the usual exchange of views on the problems of missionary work; but the most significant outcome of the conference was the appointment, in accordance with a resolution proposed by Greene, of a committee to prepare a plan for a permanent body representing the associated missions. Of this 'promoting committee,' he was made chairman and the result of its deliberations was the formation of 'The Standing Committee of Coöperating Christian Missions in Japan,' to which the various 'evangelical' missions were invited to send representatives in proportion to their numerical strength. The functions of this committee were advisory, rather than authoritative; but it was expected to be helpful in promoting mutual understanding and inter-denominational coöperation.

Greene was the first chairman of this new permanent organization and served for several years on its executive committee; but his chief interest was in the Committee on Publications of which also he was chairman. In January, 1902, the latter committee was instructed to prepare 'a record of social and religious conditions and progress'; and in 1903, the first number of the 'Christian Movement' annual appeared. The greater part of the space was naturally devoted to missionary activities; and, though the Roman and Eastern Orthodox communions were not represented on the 'Standing Committee' and the Anglican group as a whole did not participate officially, a serious effort was made to present a fair survey of all forms of Christian service. The first number included a statement by Bishop Nicolai of the Russian Orthodox Church, and an account of the Roman Catholic missions 'from material kindly furnished by the Roman Catholic fathers.'

For most of the material dealing with direct missionary service, the editor naturally depended on the contributions of others. His chief personal contribution was in the introductory sections devoted to a 'General Survey' of political and social development during the year under review. These he usually prepared himself and they illustrate the breadth of his interest in Japanese affairs. Indeed, it seemed to him quite impossible to present the 'Christian movement' without reference to this general background of Japanese society. Such a background treatment was, he thought, especially necessary in Japan 'where the Government touches the life of the individual at so many points, and where society shows itself so responsive to the new forces, the result largely of contact with the nations of the West.' So in the opening issue there were references to such matters of national and international politics as the formation of a new ministry, the conflict in Japan between English and German conceptions of ministerial responsibility, the recent extension of the parliamentary suffrage, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the 'House Tax' controversy between the Japanese Government and the foreign residents of the treaty ports. Then followed a section on 'The Business World,' reporting failures of crops in certain places, the state of the money market, the progress of manufactures. Other sections dealt with 'Education' and with 'Foreign Languages and Literature,' taking account of such phenomena as the serial publication in Japanese papers of translations, or adaptations, from foreign novels. Similar surveys appeared in succeeding issues and official documents were sometimes included.

CHAPTER XVI

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS AND INTERESTS 1898–1908

A STRIKING characteristic of Greene's missionary service during his later years was the wide range of his interests and the variety of personal contacts which came about quite naturally in the day's work. His relations to the Doshisha had required interviews with ministers of state as well as minor officials. Through his journalistic ventures and in various other ways he had come to know a number of the men who shaped Japanese opinion through the metropolitan press; and his acquaintance with some of the leaders in finance and industry was partly the result of their common interest with him in the Doshisha. At the same time, his relations with the foreign community, both within and without the missionary circle, claimed much of his interest, strengthening his influence as a mediating personality in international discussions.

Greene's relations with the staff of the American legation, advanced during this period to the status of an embassy, were closer than in the case of most missionaries, because of his position as the representative of his mission in Tokyo. During the four years succeeding his return to Japan in 1898, the Minister was Alfred E. Buck, a Union officer who had settled in the South after the Civil War. Greene was not at first impressed with Buck's qualifications for a post so important and difficult; but the new Minister improved on acquaintance and the two men soon became good friends. 'Col. Buck,' Greene wrote in 1899, 'is doing very well. He is a man of high character, unselfish and open-minded.' In the following year, when there was talk of a change in the legation, Greene wrote a vigorous letter to Senator Hoar urging that Buck be re-

tained. Comparing the latter with the British Minister, Sir Ernest Satow, whom he also knew well, Greene remarked that Satow was 'a more learned and a more cultivated man, as well as a trained diplomat of long experience.' His American colleague had, however, a certain 'simplicity of purpose' which 'opened many doors of influence' and probably enabled him by informal methods 'to allay friction and promote harmony between the authorities and the resident Americans.' What Greene liked particularly about Buck was that he did not feel obliged to push the claims of his countrymen unless convinced that they had a good case. This attitude was sometimes resented; but it helped him to win the confidence of the Japanese Government and strengthened his influence in support of really legitimate claims.

Greene's letter in support of Buck was forwarded by Senator Hoar, to Secretary Hay with a note explaining Greene's competence as an adviser; and Buck remained in office until his death in 1902. That Greene's feeling was cordially reciprocated is indicated by Secretary Barton's report of a conversation with Buck in Boston early in 1901: 'Mr. Buck has the highest regard for yourself, your ability and your influence there in Tokyo. He could hardly say enough in praise of the position which you have taken and which you maintain there.' After Buck's death it was Greene who was asked to conduct the more intimate part of the funeral services.

The correspondence during this period shows his continued interest in doing what he could toward promoting high standards in the diplomatic service. Now and then he was quite emphatic in his criticism, as in the case of one candidate somewhat given to self-advertisement; 'self-conscious braggart' would not, he thought, be too strong a term. Fortunately, Buck's successors during this decade were men of standing and character. Greene continued to feel, however, that the American legation ought to be able to share more

fully in 'the intellectual life of Tokyo.' A few years before he had complained that the members of the legation staff did not 'study their own records nor keep posted on Japanese politics'; they were consequently 'at a disadvantage in all controversies.' He was quick to recognize, however, those members of the staff who did their work seriously and intelligently.

With the British embassy, his relations were naturally not so close, though Sir Ernest Satow was an old associate in the Asiatic Society. When Sir Claude MacDonald was transferred from Peking to the Tokyo embassy, Greene came to know him well, not only through the Asiatic Society but as a fellow-member of a small dinner club.

In a large sense, Greene had diplomatic functions of his own, in helping to introduce American visitors to Japanese life. Among the names mentioned in his correspondence and that of his wife are those of George Kennan, the traveler, who came out as a representative of 'The Outlook'; G. F. Wright, the geologist; and the psychologist, George T. Ladd, of Yale, an Andover classmate. In 1900, he was glad to welcome Rear Admiral Watson, whom he had first known nearly thirty years before and for whose religious character he had great respect. Visiting speakers were looked after, though they were, naturally, not always congenial. That was the case with one zealous evangelist, whom Greene regarded as a 'reactionist,' and, though supposedly a New Testament scholar, 'seriously inaccurate' in his exegesis.

Greene's associations in the Asiatic Society have already been described. In general his tastes were too domestic to leave much time in his limited leisure hours for club life of the ordinary sort; but there was one notable exception. This was the Twelve Club, so called from the limitation of its membership to that number. The Club was in process of formation in 1906 when Greene became a member and in February, 1907, Mrs. Greene noted the rounding-out of the desired number of twelve. The next six years brought several changes in the

personnel and the lists indicate the varied interests thus brought together. The prime mover in the club was an American, Henry Terry, Professor of English Law in the Imperial University of Tokyo. There were two other professors in the Imperial University, the American, O. M. W. Sprague, in economics, and the German, Dr. L. Lönholm, in German law. The missionary group included at different times between 1906 and 1913: Arthur Lloyd, sometime fellow of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, a Professor of English in the Keio University and one of the leading contributors to the Asiatic Society 'Transactions'; Bishop Cecil Boutflower, of the Anglican Church, subsequently Suffragan Bishop of Southampton; Bishop McKim, of the American Episcopal Church; and Clay MacCauley, director of the American Unitarian Mission. Diplomacy, business, and journalism were also represented. Among the diplomats were: F. O. Lindley, counselor of the British Embassy; Henry W. Denison, since 1880 legal adviser to the Japanese Foreign office and a consultant in the Russo-Japanese peace negotiations at Portsmouth; Luke E. Wright, American Ambassador and former Governor-General of the Philippines; Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Ambassador, who had been the dean of the diplomatic corps at Peking during the Boxer uprising. There were two retired officers of the British Navy, one of whom represented the British firm of Vickers, Armstrong & Co. Other members of the mercantile group were: F. J. Sale, of the important firm of Sale and Frazar; and R. J. Kirby, one of the most respected English merchants of that day and one of the best-posted on Japanese affairs. The two journalists were: John Russell Kennedy, then chief of the Associated Press service, in Japan, and Captain Frank Brinkley, editor of the 'Japan Mail.' Brinkley had long been the outstanding figure among the men who conducted the foreign-language press of Tokyo and Yokohama; he was also a distinguished authority on Japanese history and Japanese art. Having

lived in the country for about forty years, he was, as Greene said, 'on intimate terms with most of the prominent men of Japan, speaking their language as very few foreigners were able to speak it.'

All the members of the Club, except Professor Lönholm, were either American or British. Of this fact and of Greene's part in the group, Professor J. T. Swift, a fellow-member, has recently written: 'Dr. Greene was not only one of the charter members of the Club, he was also possessed of a mind of a broad judicial type, which made him judge among the diplomats and lawyers who led in our discussions. His was usually the last word. If the meaning and usefulness of the Tokyo Twelve Club lay in its Anglo-American character, as I believe it did, then Dr. Greene's part was like the part he took all through the years he spent in Tokyo. He was at all times conscious of his American lineage and citizenship, and by his natural dignity showed how highly he valued them; but he also showed that England and her sons in the Far East were dear to him. Certainly they still hold him in honored and affectionate remembrance. To foster and to strengthen such understandings and such friendships was the one object of the Twelve Club.'

Greene's interest in the foreign community and in its possible service to the Japanese themselves through the exemplification of sound social standards was shown not only through his active support of the Union Church, but in various other ways. One favorite project, finally realized, was the School for Foreign Children subsequently known as the Tokyo Grammar School and later still as the American School in Tokyo. The most direct concern of the missionary group in such a school was naturally in providing educational facilities for their own children; but Greene's interest went much farther. The school he had in mind would serve every element in the foreign community, or at least the English-speaking part of it, which was much the strongest numeri-

cally; there boys and girls could be prepared for the best colleges. If such an institution were successfully maintained, it would render important service in raising the tone of the foreign community. 'It seems to me,' he wrote in 1904, 'that any patriotic American citizen or British subject must long to see the life of the spirit adequately represented in these communities that we may offset the extreme commercialism which too often brings the acutest shame to the true representatives of Christian lands. For this purpose a thoroughly good school is one of the requisites.'

By the end of 1904, the school was fairly launched, and Greene became the first chairman of its Board of Trustees. Small gifts came from various sources, including two mission boards; but it was difficult to get adequate support. In 1906, he was encouraged by the sympathetic attitude of Ambassador Griscom and hoped to enlist Andrew Carnegie's interest in the project: 'If he had more imagination, or would direct what he has to the situation here, he would give $200,000 as gladly as he has made any gift yet.' When he went home on his last furlough, he kept the school in mind and the possibility of enlisting support from men of means in the United States; it seemed to him 'a disgrace to our Western civilization to allow so many of the foreign children to grow up without the restraints and the inspirations which a well-ordered school creates for its pupils.'

Another example of his interest in the intellectual and spiritual aspects of international relations is a careful memorandum prepared as the basis of an appeal to Mr. Carnegie, on behalf of an institution to be called 'The Central Library of Japan.' The nucleus of such a collection had already been secured and an adequate building could probably be provided for about $30,000. If some $70,000 more could be secured, the institution might be put on its feet, attract gifts from other sources, 'and thus grow into a large and well-equipped library such as have proved so essential to the intellectual life of the

cities and towns of the United States and Great Britain.' Such a library should include 'the best literature of Japan and China of every description, ancient and modern.' There should also be a 'storehouse of materials' for the 'historian of the next generation,' 'valuable manuscripts, diaries, etc., now in private hands bearing upon the great political and social changes of the past forty years.' Greene's prime interest, however, was in meeting 'the immediate needs of the present generation of young men,' which required liberal provision for foreign literature. Though Tokyo already had some considerable libraries, they were so situated and administered as not to be generally accessible; and they did not, in Greene's opinion 'adequately represent the great spiritual forces which lie at the basis of Western civilization which Japan is endeavoring to assimilate.'

Another international enterprise which Greene had much at heart was an institute for the promotion of Far Eastern studies. In May, 1903, he set forth his views at some length: 'One project I have in mind as a sort of dream is the formation of an Oriental Institute which might be the resort of Western scholars who wish to study the art, religion, or social life of Japan, and form a connecting link between the educational systems, and learned societies of the West and those of Japan.' The foreign community of Tokyo was to have a part in this institute, whose library should be 'a sort of bond of union for its fragmentary society.' Quite in contrast with popular notions about the inability of missionaries to appreciate Oriental civilization, Greene was quite sure that the intellectual commerce of Japan with Western Christendom should not be one-sided: 'Japan has much to teach us, and her history, especially her recent history, will some day be recognized as a mine of facts illustrative of many and varied problems which modern scholars have as yet failed to find the true solution of, though sometimes they think they have.'

This proposal was sympathetically received by a number of Americans and Japanese; one Japanese thought 100,000 yen might easily be raised in his own country. The British residents, with such notable exceptions as Captain Brinkley and the Anglican Bishop Awdry, were more skeptical: Greene concluded that they were 'destitute of imagination and altogether unacquainted with the influence exerted by endowments upon modern scholarship.' He thought the way was open for an application to a wealthy American philanthropist who might endow it handsomely. The gift must, however, be generously conceived; 'he would have to put his hand deeply into his pocket to get all I want.' Greene's estimate was about $350,000. A member of the Columbia faculty, then visiting Japan, suggested a possible affiliation with that university; and Greene also thought of consulting President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins. 'Of course,' he explained, 'all this is to be kept quiet until some Pharaoh will listen to my dream.' Whether recognition of the importance of such studies would develop soon enough to help this particular project, he could not foretell; but he concluded, 'I have hope enough to stimulate me to effort.' He did not live to see the dream come true, but his interest persisted to the end.

This strong interest in the intellectual aspects of international intercourse did not prevent close attention to the political issues of the time. In the previous decade, Greene had been much occupied with the subject of legal reform as a safeguard against international friction under the new treaties. He also thought it important for friendly relations between Japan and the English-speaking peoples, that the Japanese should advance toward more completely representative government. Writing in 1899, he expressed his opinion that the apparent strength of the German and Russian monarchies was exerting an unfortunate influence in Japan: 'Great Britain and the United States are enormously interested in this matter. If Japan falls under the domination of the

Russian principle of government, Great Britain will lose half the value of her friendship.' If in a probable future conflict with Russia, England lost India, he did not believe that British prestige could recover; 'with the loss of that prestige, the cause of free institutions all the world over will suffer.' In the discussion of Japanese educational policy, already mentioned in connection with the missionary schools, Greene kept in mind its political significance also. A little 'thoroughly friendly and courteous remonstrance' on the part of Great Britain and the United States would, he thought, 'do not a little to strengthen the liberal statesmen of Japan.' On the whole and, in the face of some discouragements, he wrote hopefully of Japan's relations with the English-speaking powers, as a 'whole-souled partner in the work Divine Providence has given them.'

The opening of the twentieth century brought a notable series of events affecting materially the relations of Japan with the Western nations. Far Eastern issues assumed a new prominence in international politics and Japan rose to the status of a world power, with the advantages and disadvantages which that position involves. For the first time in her history, Japan engaged in what seemed to many of her people a life-and-death struggle with one of the chief European powers. Fortified for that struggle by the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, she came out with enormously increased prestige and with an ambitious programme, which caused some anxiety even on the part of governments hitherto well-disposed. New forms of international friction developed, which were played upon by unscrupulous and malevolent journalists on both sides of the Pacific. All these developments Greene followed with a keen sense of responsibility to do what he could to remove misunderstandings and, more particularly, to maintain the traditional friendship of Japan and the United States. He was still a friendly critic of his Japanese neighbors; but he was increasingly inclined to em-

phasize the duty of defending them and their Government against unfair criticism.

The summer of 1900 brought the tragedy of the Boxer uprising. During the long period of uncertainty about the fate of the missionaries and other foreigners, Greene wrote of the 'terrible anxiety for friends,' probably having in mind especially the North China mission of the American Board. After the movement was suppressed, he defended some of the missionaries against unfair criticism, but he was most anxious for a conciliatory policy and was troubled when some missionaries who had been through the terrible ordeal not unnaturally expressed themselves in ways not quite consistent with Christian ideals. Of one such missionary, who had seen his college broken up and his students massacred, Greene wrote, in October, 1900, 'It is no wonder that his judgment is unbalanced'; 'still,' he added, 'it is sad to have a missionary urging a punitive expedition to Paoting-fu or elsewhere. They mean and must mean distress and death to hundreds perhaps thousands who had nothing whatever to do with the horrors of the past few months, and it does seem that at this age of the world some better way might be found to express our abhorrence of such crimes.' Greene recognized also that the return of the Empress Dowager, however unfortunate, might prove the only means of avoiding anarchy. The missionary group would, he hoped, avoid unwise utterances on this and other similar issues; 'the less they publish now the better for them and for us in Japan.' The contrary course would confirm 'the suspicion of not a few that missionaries are animated with a political, not less than a religious, purpose.'

For the future of China, Greene was distinctly hopeful: 'Within the next twenty-five years there will be a movement in China which will show what power new thoughts have, and lead to a revision of many current ethnological theories.' He was thinking particularly of the influence of the Chinese students then coming to Japan in considerable numbers.

'The great bulk of the Chinese Empire creates an enormous inertia, and the reform movement will be inevitably slow, but it is bound to go forward and Christian individualism working in the minds of the Chinese people will do for them morally and spiritually what it is bound to do for every nation. Its working will banish the "yellow peril" from any intelligent mind. It is only an exaggerated Weissmannism that sees that phantom anyway.'

The conduct of the Japanese during the Boxer troubles was to Greene a source of genuine satisfaction. 'Japan,' he wrote, 'is far more under the control of Christian ethical ideas than Russia is'; and he contrasted the 'nobility of spirit' shown by the Japanese troops in China with 'the generally reported extreme brutality of the Russian soldiers in their treatment of Chinese non-combatants.' As the antagonism between Japan and Russia developed, he was quite certain that the former had the better claim to the moral support of Western Christendom. In March, 1901, nearly three years before the actual clash of arms, he wrote anticipating war between the two powers. In the autumn of 1903, when the situation appeared still more ominous, he appealed again for Western sympathy with the Japanese: 'How any friend of civilization can hesitate to grant full sympathy to Japan against Russia, I cannot understand. Japan is fully committed to modern thought and progress. Her victory would mean the integrity of China and the general opening of the country to the fruits of modern culture, not to speak of the impetus thus given to the missionary work. Should Russia be the victor, missionary work must cease, so far as her control goes, and all hope of political liberty for many, many years is lost.' 'If English-speaking people will support Japan, her influence in China will be controlled by the public [opinion?] of the United States, Great Britain, and her colonies. Why can not this be?'

With such convictions, Greene was an eager promoter of

measures tending to secure harmony between Japan and the Western powers. In 1902, he expressed his satisfaction with the agreement by which the irritating house-tax controversy between the Japanese Government and the foreign residents of the treaty ports was referred to the Hague Tribunal. He was pleased also when the American Minister resisted the demand of some of his nationals for a more aggressive handling of that issue, which seemed to him at least debatable. He regarded the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 as another step forward, and spoke of it in the first annual issue of his 'Christian Movement' as 'a recognition of the position Japan has won for herself which is honorable to both parties. Its object is declared to be the preservation of peace in the Far East, and there is little doubt that it will conduce to the end in view. The effect upon the Japanese people has been helpful. The alliance has not merely been the source of gratification; it has produced a more favorable attitude toward not Great Britain only, but toward other nationalities as well, and it has tended to relieve the tension caused by what many of the Japanese people regarded [as] the supercilious demeanor of the foreign powers toward Japan.' The old irritation, though not 'entirely forgotten,' had been 'greatly lessened.'

Japan's relations with the West were of course complicated by the Chinese situation. In May, 1903, Greene observed that Japan was 'working away quietly on the problems of reform in China. Nearly if not quite 1000 Chinese students, boys, are studying in Japan, not to speak of a considerable number of girls.' Some Chinese military students were, after two or three years of the Japanese regimen, hardly distinguishable from the Japanese. There was also reason to believe that Japanese scholars and investigators were at work in China. Having a fair knowledge of Chinese, and aided by the multiplicity of dialects in China, they could avoid observation much more easily than other foreigners. Japan was certain to have 'a prominent part in the work of developing

China'; the only question was what would be the nature of her influence: 'How shall Japan be kept in sympathy with the best public sentiment of the West?' The danger, as he saw it, in 1903 was not so much Japanese exploitation of China, as the development of antagonism between East and West:

'In view of all the talk about the "Yellow Peril," there is great danger that Japan may come to think that the only course open to her, in view of the evident distrust manifested toward her by so many in Europe especially, but also by too many in the United States as well, is to be the leader of an Oriental alliance against Western aggression.

'That she should become the leader among the Oriental nations is every way to be desired, but that she should be forced to the conviction that her interests are antagonistic to those of the West would be a calamity not only to her but to the world. . . . The natural trend of affairs here is toward a sympathetic unity of thought and feeling with the West. If that trend is overcome it will be chiefly, if not altogether, the fault of the West.'

On the probable outcome of a Russo-Japanese War, Greene had fairly definite ideas as early as 1901. After reporting the opinion of many foreign observers, that Japan was 'more than a match for Russia, both upon land and sea, in everything but the staying power which comes from Russia's more elastic treasury,' he went on: 'Japan could mass troops in Manchuria faster than Russia and they would be better drilled and better supplied at least for the first months; but the drain upon Japan's resources would be most unfortunate. . . . It is my belief that any further advance by Russia upon the Korean border would lead to war and that Russia's navy would for a time be driven from these waters.' He believed also that Japanese successes at the outset would impress the Chinese, making available a considerable body of Chinese troops under Japanese command, and that out of this coöper-

ation would develop 'a permanent dam against Russia's advance.' During the critical autumn and winter of 1903–04, he observed that Japanese officials were keeping 'their own counsel remarkably well,' but apparently had little hope of peace. 'There is little bravado, but a firm conviction on the part of the people that they are being played with and deceived by Russia. They are ready for any amount of sacrifice which war may necessitate.' In January, 1904, he expected that 'some heavy blow' would be 'struck by Japan before the port of Vladivostok is free from ice. Japan does not want to watch two naval depots on the Russian side, and she will try to disable the Russian navy before that time.' Japan was 'splendidly prepared' and her information service was keeping her 'thoroughly posted.'

A few weeks later the war was on and Greene wrote home: 'We all believe in Japan and hope she may win. . . . Don't be misled by the oft-repeated assertions that if Japan were going to fight, she ought to have struck her blow long ago. The Japanese statesmen are no fools. You may be sure they have used their time to good advantage and events will soon show what they have gained.' He rejected the idea of a treacherous onset, but noted the calmness with which they faced the situation: 'It is a mistake to say that the Japanese are greatly excited. There is nothing like the manifestation of excitement that there was in the United States when the war with Spain began, but they are clearly in earnest.' 'If any one,' he went on, 'wishes to see political liberty and good government prevail in Eastern Asia, he has every reason to sympathize with Japan as against the oppressor of Finland and the Jew-baiter. If Great Britain and the United States will give Japan their moral support, she can be relied on to maintain the integrity of China and Korea and at the same time foster the reform movement in both countries.' As reports of initial successes came in, Mrs. Greene noted in her journal how they had all been joining in cheers for Japan, '*Dai Nippon Banzai.*'

In the autumn of 1904, Greene commented on the success with which, so far, the Japanese were carrying the economic burden of the war. The rice crop was 'the best for twenty-seven years. Prices range high but otherwise there is no sign of serious strain.' He reported a recent conversation with the Vice-Minister of Education, who declared his intention, not only to maintain the efficiency of the educational system, but to continue its 'natural growth.'

During the closing months of the war, Greene was putting through the press the third annual issue of 'The Christian Movement' and the last event recorded in his survey of international affairs was the defeat of the Russian fleet in the battle of the Japan Sea. Here, as in his confidential letters, his sympathy with the Japanese Government comes out strongly. He was impressed by the dignity and moderation with which it had conducted its controversies with the neutral powers, notably with France. Japanese treatment of non-combatants and of the Russian prisoners in Japan also seemed to him in accord with the highest standards: 'Steadiness of purpose, subordination of all lesser aims to one great object, humanity to friend and foe — these have characterized the conduct of the war at every stage.'

'At first sight,' he wrote, 'it seems a strange commentary upon our much boasted Western civilization that it was only when Japan showed her prowess and strength upon the field of battle that she was able to win adequate recognition of her progress.' But, after all, he argued, 'power is in itself impressive and always will be, and there is no reason why we should be ashamed to acknowledge it.' Besides, it was not sheer brute force which had won the Japanese their enviable reputation; but rather 'the high intellectual and moral qualities that have marked the course of both army and navy. . . . The leaders, availing themselves of the resources of advanced science, have evinced a power of coördination, and a patience of detail seldom seen before.'

The summer of 1905 brought the peace negotiations at Portsmouth, made possible by the friendly mediation of President Roosevelt. The treaty of Portsmouth was unsatisfactory to many ardent Japanese patriots who did not appreciate the military and financial problems of their Government or the value to Japan of the American mediation. In September, 1905, hostility to the treaty and to the ministry responsible for it culminated in the Tokyo riots which got temporarily beyond the control of the police. A few days later, however, when Greene returned from a vacation at Nikko, he found conditions nearly normal, though the city was still more or less under military control. Mission and church property suffered somewhat at the hands of the rioters; but he believed that there had been no 'special hostility to Christianity *per se*,' and reported prompt action by the Government for the protection of Christian establishments. It seemed to him that 'a widespread popular movement hostile to foreigners was inconceivable in Japan, because of the centralized character of the Government and its ability to act promptly and vigorously.'

Greene's sympathies were with the ministry as against their hasty critics, and he mentioned with approval a statement by Marquis Yamagata setting forth the considerations which had led the Government to accept the treaty. 'I judge that all thinking men were impressed by it. To my mind those considerations are conclusive and I regard the decision of the Government as exhibiting sound statesmanship and admirable civic courage.' There was some hostility shown toward America and Americans, but Greene wrote that 'it soon subsided and there are few if any who will now acknowledge that such a feeling existed, while the acknowledgment of President Roosevelt's service is frank and hearty from the Emperor downward.'

The aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War undoubtedly complicated American-Japanese relations. The more or less

condescending friendliness shown by many Americans in earlier years was inevitably modified as Japan became one of the 'Great Powers.' Though President Roosevelt accepted Japanese control of Korea as an almost inevitable outcome of the Far Eastern situation, there was much outspoken criticism by Americans both of the policy itself and of certain abuses in its administration. In South Manchuria, where the Japanese took over the concessions and interests previously acquired by Russia, there were questions involving Japan's loyalty to the 'open-door' policy. Finally, Japanese immigration to the United States began to emerge as a serious international issue. On all these questions, Greene worked for a fair statement of the Japanese case in the face of unfriendly and often ignorant criticism. To do this and at the same time give due weight to legitimate criticism was not easy and the balance was perhaps not always kept quite even. What will, however, be obvious, to any reader of his letters or his public statements, is his constant and intense desire to promote good will and a real understanding of the issues involved.

In 'The Christian Movement' of 1907, Greene devoted several pages to a chapter on 'Some Misconceptions regarding Japan and Her People.' He began with a note of warning against judgments based on the superficial observations of travelers, or even those of more permanent residents who had never come into close contact with the Japanese people. The sympathy which would open 'the closed doors of Japan must extend to the details of daily life,' making possible 'the confidences of intimate and friendly intercourse'; it must also be 'broad enough to include the national hopes and aspirations.' Naturally enough, the glib generalizations of globe-trotters, or even some more serious writers of travel literature, were highly irritating to one who could talk with the Japanese in their own language and had been 'for weeks together an inmate of Japanese households.'

One of these 'misconceptions' was, he thought, due to

over-emphasis on the persistence of class distinctions. He noted, for instance, the frequency of marriages between *samurai* and *heimin* (commoner) families, and the large representation of the latter, even among the officers of the army and navy and among recent candidates for the diplomatic service. The significance of these facts was, he thought, obvious to any one who could recall the conditions of the old feudal era. 'Now, as everybody knows, criminal and civil law protect high and low alike.' Greene believed also that modern changes in law and in education had gone deeper and been more widely diffused than was supposed by superficial observers. 'Some have said that the country people still think the same thoughts and live the same life as their fathers. Such notions . . . could hardly come to one who had ever seen a daimyo's train, or talked with those who were accustomed to bow themselves in the dust when even the humblest baron passed along the road, but who can now stand erect and look upon the face of the Emperor himself.' The Japanese had long been a comparatively homogeneous people; but they were still more so now under the influence of such modern institutions as the military system, the public schools, and the newspaper. 'Under such circumstances, new thoughts, new conceptions of political rights travel rapidly and widely, and the nation has learned to think and act together to a far greater degree than most observers deem possible.'

Another point on which Greene felt that many Western people had gone wrong was in their 'extraordinary overestimate of the authority of the Government.' The Japanese Government was doubtless more paternalistic than those of the English-speaking peoples; but it was 'an open question' whether the Japanese did not enjoy 'as much liberty as the people of Prussia.' Religious organizations were, he thought, 'far less hampered in their work by annoying regulations than in any part of Germany.' There had been, in his opinion, sim-

ilar exaggerations in current statements about the unique character of Japanese loyalty and the militaristic temper of the people.

On some of the questions then in the foreground, Greene was pleading primarily for suspension of judgment. There was conflicting testimony about Japan's attitude toward the 'open-door' policy in Manchuria; but he thought that before reaching a final conclusion more time ought to be allowed for the restoration of normal conditions after the war. Similarly in Korea, he was inclined to give the Japanese administration the benefit of the doubt and to emphasize its achievements under difficult conditions, notably in providing more effective protection for life and property. He was willing to rely upon friendly criticism for the removal of abuses.

On the immigration issue raised by the State of California and the city of San Francisco, Greene held more positive views. There had been, he wrote in 1907, 'an appeal to race prejudice which was based on an extraordinary misrepresentation of the facts.' The problem presented by adult or adolescent Japanese in the elementary schools might, he argued, have been dealt with by general regulations without racial discrimination. In view of the attacks made upon Japanese workers by lawless elements in San Francisco, Greene maintained that the Japanese had shown a creditable self-restraint; 'the great journals of Tokyo have deserved well of their countrymen and of the lovers of peace the world over. . . their editorials have done much to allay excitement and to foster faith in the sincere purpose of President Roosevelt to use his legitimate powers to secure just and equitable treatment for all Japanese residents.' For the time being, a disturbing issue was relegated to the background through Roosevelt's appeal to the school authorities of San Francisco and the negotiation of the so-called 'Gentlemen's Agreement,' by which the Japanese Government undertook to control emigration at the source. It was soon evident, however, that the problem

of Asiatic immigration was still unsolved. One of Greene's keenest disappointments was the failure of many of his own countrymen to respect what he felt to be the elementary principles of international justice and courtesy.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LAST YEARS. PASSING OF THE MEIJI ERA

In Mrs. Greene's journal for December 2, 1907, she spoke of the recent thirty-eighth anniversary of 'our setting foot in Japan. Wonderful things we have seen and are to see, in the years before us. I do not think we could have chosen a country that was to be more interesting in its development nor one that we should have been more glad to have a hand in helping on. Then our family life in happiness, comfort and satisfaction has been far beyond our wildest dreams.'

Happy as the Greenes were in their family experience and in their intercourse with the Japanese people, the passing years had left their mark. Three years earlier, a delightful vacation on Hakone Lake had been sadly broken through the accidental death of their son-in-law, Charles S. Griffin. Fresh from his studies at Harvard and in Germany, he had come to Japan in 1899 as a Professor of Economics in the Imperial University of Tokyo. Before long, a common interest in Japanese studies combined with more personal ties to establish between the veteran missionary and the younger scholar a congenial and stimulating relationship whose loss was keenly felt. A few months later, the condition of Mrs. Greene's health, as well as his own, led to their taking a short furlough, in the course of which they saw the Philippines for the first time and had a happy meeting with their youngest son, then in the first year of his active service in the navy. From this outing they came back much refreshed; but by 1908 they had fairly earned what proved to be their last furlough in America. Greene was then sixty-five and his wife sixty-two; their sons and daughters had one after another established themselves in independent positions and in three

homes there were grandchildren in whom they both took the greatest satisfaction. Looking forward to a year of rest and family reunions, they were happy also in the evidences of affection which came from their Japanese friends. Never, Greene thought, had 'the attitude, especially of the older people, been so affectionate as at this time.'

They sailed from Yokohoma in March, 1908, and spent a few weeks pleasantly in California where the timely presence of President Roosevelt's battleship fleet, in the course of its memorable cruise around the world, enabled them to see their youngest son, then the executive officer of the U.S.S. Culgoa. There were some calls for public addresses to which both Greene and his wife were glad to respond so far as was consistent with reasonable opportunities for rest. As he wrote on the eve of their departure from Japan, he welcomed the opportunity to deal with current American misrepresentations of the Japanese. They both felt that they had something to say and should 'enjoy having a tilt with some of those who sling their charges so recklessly against Japan. It is surprising what wide currency some idiotic stories have.' It was significant of a striking change which had taken place on the Pacific coast since his earlier visits, that one of Greene's addresses at Los Angeles was to an audience of about six hundred Japanese. The journey eastward was broken by short visits to relatives in Kansas, and at Lawrence he spoke to the students of the State University. In May and June they visited a son and daughter in Champaign, Illinois, and joined in the commencement festivities of the University of Illinois. The greater part of the year 1908–09 was spent in New England with their two married sons, in Boston and Cambridge; and they had a peaceful summer at Jackson among the New Hampshire mountains. In the autumn of 1908, they spent a few days revisiting old scenes in Westborough and its vicinity; and in October, after attending the annual meeting of the American Board

SKETCH OF DANIEL CROSBY GREENE BY A JAPANESE ARTIST

in Brooklyn they took another tour of the Middle West. In the course of this tour Greene was called on to speak at Oberlin, Chicago, and other places in Ohio and Illinois. On their way east in December, they turned southward for a short visit at Atlanta with their old friend Mrs. Buck, widow of the American Minister in Tokyo.

Their home-coming brought along with the renewal of old ties the opportunity to share more fully the interests of their children. Their sons had chosen widely different careers and none of them had followed their father into the ministry; but his own interests were so varied that he was able to enter into their experiences — in academic life, in medicine, in the consular service, and in the navy — with a quite unusual understanding.

This last year in the United States brought Greene into closer contact than before with two American universities, one in New England and the other in the Middle West, very different from each other and both very different from the New England college of his youth. Charles W. Eliot was nearing the close of his distinguished presidency at Harvard and the University of Illinois was advancing rapidly under the vigorous leadership of Edmund J. James. Greene's relations with Harvard were naturally closer; four of his sons were graduates of the college and one of them was then secretary of the Corporation. In the spring of 1909, he gave at Harvard, on the invitation of Professor A. C. Coolidge, a series of lectures on Japan, interpreting the history of the Meiji Era, of which he had been a sympathetic observer almost from its beginning. The cordial hospitality of President Eliot strengthened an acquaintance begun many years before, and though far apart in their views on many subjects, they were drawn together by their common interest in education and in the promotion of international good will. One of the happiest incidents of this year at home was President Eliot's appreciative reference to Greene and his family, while speak-

ing as a specially invited guest at a dinner of Dartmouth alumni.

Peculiarly grateful was the new recognition which now came to him from his alma mater. At the Commencement exercises in June, 1909, forty-five years after his own graduation, Dartmouth College gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In conferring the degree, his old friend, President Tucker, spoke of Greene's forty years of leadership 'in the movement to establish the Christian religion in Japan,' and his 'constructive statesmanship in cementing the bonds between Japan and other peoples.' The Dartmouth degree was a source of great satisfaction, not only to Greene and his personal friends, but also to his associates in the missionary service, who felt that his contributions to the discussion of international issues had fairly entitled him to such recognition. Secretary Barton sent him a generous note of congratulation. 'If ever,' he wrote, 'such a degree was given worthily, I think this is . . . when a missionary is honored we are all honored with him.'

These evidences of appreciation came when consolation was sorely needed. Mrs. Greene had not been well for some months and a thorough examination showed that there was little or no hope of her recovery. She made a brave fight for life and kept up hope almost to the last; but her family realized that the end could not be far off. Fortunately it was possible to arrange for a few weeks at Scituate, Massachusetts, where the Greenes were able to gather all their family about them, including two daughters and a son from across the Pacific. She rallied from an operation sufficiently to take real pleasure in the reunion, though before the summer ended her youngest son developed a serious case of tuberculosis which made it necessary for him to take treatment in an Adirondack sanitarium.

The question of returning to Japan was a difficult one to decide, but Mrs. Greene was eager to go back with her hus-

band to the scene of their life-work. She could count on excellent medical service and her two older daughters would be there to stand by her. So in September, 1909, they took once more the long journey across the continent and on the 15th they sailed from San Francisco on the Japanese steamer Chiyo Maru. The voyage proved surprisingly comfortable, and by the first of October they were once more among their Japanese friends. The sale of their old home forced them to live in cramped temporary quarters; but Mrs. Greene was determined to 'carry on' so far as her strength would permit, and for a time was much encouraged. Her journal, kept up to within about a month of her death, shows surprising activity. On Christmas Day, Greene wrote that under the competent care of her Japanese physician, she was 'very comfortable,' going about 'almost as freely as if she were well,' attending 'such of the women's meetings as do not conflict with each other' and attending one service every Sunday. So it was until within a few weeks of the end.

About a month after the landing at Yokohama, she took a railroad journey to Maebashi, where she had many old friends. She looked forward to seeing the maple trees in their brilliant autumnal colors. The journey was 'most delightful' and the air 'wonderfully clear and exhilarating'; 'for the first time since I was ill, I felt as if I were off on a spree.'

During the New Year holidays, the Greenes visited familiar scenes at Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe, and enjoyed the generous hospitality of Japanese friends at the Sumitomo villa a few miles from Osaka. At Kobe they visited one of their colleagues in the old house which Greene himself had built nearly forty years before, and were welcomed there by Japanese Christians whom they had known for nearly the whole of that period. Mrs. Greene came back in mid-winter from this long journey, 'without serious trouble'; and a few days later, after the lapse of nearly two years, resumed her Japanese reading. 'I find,' she wrote, 'that it will take a

little time to regain what I have lost, but the reading is always a help to one's vocabulary.'

As the spring came on she was obviously failing; but after recording a day of some discomfort, she added, 'I hope not to behave so badly any more.' Almost the last entries in her journal show that she could still enjoy meeting people, even comparatively recent acquaintances. Very characteristic too was her continued interest in the happenings of the larger world outside her own immediate circle. The journal closes March 16th, with an entry which shows how deep was her longing for good will between the country of her birth and the one in which she had spent most of her working years: 'This tiresome talk about a war between America and Japan still goes on in the American papers.'

On March 22d, Greene wrote to a son and daughter in America: 'I have felt obliged to tell her her condition. She bore it bravely and I think she is happier on the whole. Certainly she is very cheerful.' The gallant fight was nearly over, and, on April 18, 1910, the end came. In these trying months, she and her husband had been immensely cheered by the affection and sympathy which went out to them — from their more immediate associates, who called her 'The Mother of our Mission'; from the foreign community; and from Japanese friends in almost every walk of life. The same affection from men and women of the most varied associations found expression in the final tributes to her memory. Memorial services were held in the Bancho Church which she had served so loyally to the end and her Japanese friends were touched by the observance in these last rites of much that was beautiful in their own usage. At her grave in the cemetery at Aoyoma, in Tokyo, her old friend and neighbor, Mr. Cholmondeley, read the burial service of the Church of England. In all this there was the fitting expression of her own Christian faith and her far-reaching human sympathies.

To Greene the long ordeal and the distress of parting after

more than forty years of comradeship seemed for a time almost paralyzing. There remained, however, the service in which they had worked together and the ties which had bound them both in unusually close understanding with their children. Fortunately two daughters and a son were there to share the burden with him.

After making some necessary household arrangements, he found needed change and rest in a visit to his son, then United States Consul at Harbin. The journey took him through Korea, where he was interested in what the Japanese had done to improve port facilities and railroad service. The American consular representative at Seoul struck him as probably 'a good fellow, but rather morbidly hostile to the Japanese.' In South Manchuria, too, he noted what the Japanese had done, after the war brought this region under their sphere of influence. Farther north at Harbin, he saw Russian imperialism at first hand and met the Chinese Tao-tai, Alfred Sze, a Cornell graduate, who afterward became the Chinese Minister in Washington.

Refreshing as these weeks of travel were, Greene was ready to go back to the familiar surroundings and work at Tokyo. For a time he lived with his married daughter and her children of whom he was very fond. Before long, however, action by the Board enabled him to build a small but comfortable house, where, with his eldest daughter, he again had a home of his own. The new house was on Sendai-zaka and about him were typical Japanese scenes — a temple, one or two large estates, and a picturesque street filled with small shops. Here he could offer to his Japanese and foreign friends the simple hospitality in which he took the keenest satisfaction.

The building of the new house closed for the time being the question recently raised of the permanence of the Tokyo Station. Quite aside from his own personal concern in the matter, Greene was anxious that the representation of the mission at the capital should be not only maintained but

strengthened. The strength of the Doshisha alumni, in the city, the prominence of the Tokyo pastors in the *Kumi-ai* churches, the increasing tendency to transfer business from Yokohama to Tokyo — all seemed to him to emphasize the strategic importance of this post. The 'really fundamental problems' of the Doshisha were, he wrote, already 'in the hands of the Tokyo alumni and only as the Board has a representative on the ground and in touch with them can those problems be hopefully met.'

During these later years, Greene continued to be an active member of the executive committee of the Federated Missions, and he was still busy with plans for improving the linguistic training of foreign workers. He was a member of the advisory committee on the 'Japanese Language School for Foreigners' in Tokyo, and in the summer of 1911 he was working on the draft of a 'Uniform Language Course,' to be used in that school. Having been called in as adviser in connection with the American Embassy service examinations, he was impressed by the good work of one of the candidates and the severity of the test. 'No one of our missionaries,' he thought, 'could successfully pass that examination,' largely because they had less facility in reading and writing the Chinese characters. He added, however, 'things are improving gradually, and the younger people average much better than their seniors in this respect.' In the last months of his life, he was engaged with others on plans for the development of the existing language school into a more ambitious institution, not limited to linguistic instruction and possibly the nucleus of a comprehensive 'International Institute.' In 1912, a joint committee of the Japan Peace Society and of the American Society was formed, which later developed into a 'Promoting Committee' for the Language School. Greene was made chairman and among those associated with him were such distinguished Japanese as Baron Sakatani, Professors Murakami, Anesaki, and Higuchi. This association

of educational service with the cause of international peace was characteristic of his approach to all problems of this kind.

For two years after his return to Japan, Greene continued to edit 'The Christian Movement,' bringing out the issues of 1910 and 1911. He then gave up the general editorship, but continued as an associate, contributing the customary 'General Survey,' including 'Foreign Affairs,' 'Domestic Affairs' and 'The Business World,' which enabled him to set forth his views on the progress of the country and its international problems. In general, his comments on current Japanese politics were sympathetic, with now and then a word of frank criticism. In 1910, he commented on the lessened interest of the educational authorities in the higher education of women, and on certain proceedings in Korea which seemed to him objectionable. He had great confidence in the efficacy of such friendly appeals to the public opinion of the Japanese people and their leaders. Of special interest are the brief articles called out by the death of Prince Ito in 1909 and the passing of the Emperor Meiji himself in 1912. In reviewing their careers, he was recalling the political developments of an era which coincided closely with his own service in Japan. In his article on the Emperor, Greene wrote appreciatively of the older imperial tradition, as well as of the new ideals associated with the throne since the 'Imperial Oath' of 1868 and the inauguration of constitutional government. He pointed out, however, that it was still impossible to appraise accurately the personal contributions of the sovereign to the political developments of his reign. Of Ito, it was less difficult to speak. In Greene's opinion, the outstanding quality of that distinguished 'Elder Statesman' was his 'spirit of moderation.' 'He was, so to speak, the balance wheel of the State.'

During the last three years of his life, much of Greene's time was given to the revision of the Japanese New Testament, translated by himself and his colleagues of the Yoko-

hama Committee about thirty years before. On January 11, 1910, the 'Permanent Committee,' to which the publication of the Bible had been entrusted, appointed a special 'Committee for Revising the Japanese Version of the New Testament.' The new committee was composed of representatives of several mission boards, both British and American, including a missionary bishop of the Church of England. Of the Yokohama Committee, only two remained to take part in the work of revision — Greene himself and his old teacher Matsuyama, now a clergyman of the Nippon Sei Kokwai, the Japanese branch of the Anglican communion. Greene was elected chairman, and, with the coöperation of the American, English, and Scottish Bible Societies, the work was promptly begun. In June, 1910, Greene reported that the revision was well under way; but the preliminary work, which involved the setting of precedents, was 'often painfully slow.'

In a prefatory statement accompanying a tentative edition of the Gospel of Saint Mark, Greene explained, for the committee, the general lines on which the revision had been undertaken. He noted with satisfaction the greater liberality of the Bible Societies with respect to departures from the *Textus Receptus*. In general, the exegesis of the English Revised Version was to be followed, 'unless by a two-thirds vote, in the light of more recent scholarship, the Committee shall adopt a different interpretation.' The committee had tried to take advantage of recent advances in Hellenistic philology, made possible by the study of *papyri* and of archæological materials. For purposes of comparative study, the committee acknowledged its indebtedness to various modern versions, including Moffatt's 'Twentieth Century New Testament'; the French text of Segond, revised in 1910 (noted as of 'very great value'); the German version issued by Weiss and others in 1905; and several Chinese versions. Among other Japanese texts mentioned as suggestive was the Roman Catholic version recently issued by Père Raguet, which, though following

the Vulgate closely, had been remarkably successful in representing certain characteristics of the Greek original.

The question of changes in style required careful consideration. There was 'grave anxiety lest the associations which after more than thirty years of constant use have clustered around it, should be needlessly disturbed'; but many changes were obviously necessary, to correct errors of translation and to bring the style into closer conformity with the best Japanese standards. Greene noted two conspicuous changes in the new version. One was the increased use of 'honorifics' which often replaced pronouns. 'In many cases, as in the Greek, the pronouns necessary in our English version,' would be 'quite out of place in a Japanese sentence.' Another feature was the free use of the historical present which was thought to heighten 'the vividness of the narrative, while consonant with the genius of the Japanese language.'

Greene's chief personal contributions, inevitably limited by the strain of his wife's last illness and by his own failing health, were probably made in the preliminary discussion of organization and procedure, and in suggestions growing out of his experience as a member of the earlier committee. One Japanese colleague recalled, some years later, Greene's sympathetic attitude toward his associates, his ability to see the work as a whole, and his readiness to accept the results of modern scholarship.

While the work of translation was going on, Greene's thoughts were constantly turning to the difficult international issues of the day, especially to those affecting the relations of Japan and the United States. To all these problems he brought no merely academic interest, but a sense of personal responsibility for such contributions as he could make to their solution, more particularly by helping his countrymen toward a better understanding of the Japanese. He did this partly through articles in American journals. One such article, published in 'The Outlook,' protested against undis-

criminating attacks on Japanese commercial morality. Another article in the same paper explained the Japanese law regulating the holding of land by aliens. In 1911, after the death of his old friend and colleague, DeForest, for some years a special correspondent of the New York 'Independent,' Greene agreed to supply occasional articles for that journal. He wrote not only on international relations but on such topics as party politics, business, the beginnings of factory legislation, and current discussions of religion and morality.

His general views on the Korean situation have already been explained. Prince Ito's administration as Resident General seemed to him to indicate 'a friendly attitude toward the Korean people,' and a 'manifest determination to ameliorate in their favor, so far as possible, the harsh features of Japanese rule, the inheritance from the military régime.' Greene called attention, for instance, to marked improvements in water supply, sanitation, and communications, concluding that, 'from a purely economic point of view,' Korea had been 'unquestionably benefitted by Japanese rule.' Taxes were, he thought, not so heavy as under the old régime; they were certainly 'more equitably distributed and more honestly collected.' As to the propriety of taking over the government, opinions would 'perhaps always differ'; but from the Japanese point of view, it was a necessary measure of 'national defense.' There had undoubtedly been serious abuses, due partly to the presence of 'arrogant and unprincipled men, many of them camp followers of the lowest grade, who found an easy field for their operations in the confusion of the organizing period.' Such abuses should receive 'the severest criticism' and every effort should be made 'to build up a public opinion which will make them impossible.' He believed that such appeals to public opinion would be effective; meantime there was no ground for 'wholesale condemnation of the Japanese government and people.'

In 'The Christian Movement' for 1913 and in his corre-

spondence he discussed the action of the Japanese courts in the Korean conspiracy cases. More than a hundred Koreans, including Christian converts, had been found guilty of a conspiracy to assassinate the Governor-General; and the procedure of the Court of First Instance undoubtedly justified the sharpest criticism. From Greene's point of view, the discussion was complicated by the attitude of an influential group of American missionaries in Korea, who were bitterly hostile to the administration, and were regarded by the Japanese as partly responsible for the agitation out of which the conspiracy had developed. These missionaries had unquestionably sympathized with Korean aspirations for independence and encouraged hopes of American support which were doomed to disappointment.

Greene believed that grave injustice had been done by the Japanese Court of First Instance. He urged, however, a suspension of judgment, so far as the Japanese Government and people were concerned, pending final action by the higher court. If that action proved unsatisfactory, he believed that a friendly appeal to Japanese public opinion would bring results. Indiscriminate denunciation of the Japanese would serve only to excite nationalistic feeling and check the growth of a healthy public opinion. 'However unjustly, the missionaries will be held responsible for the heated writing which has appeared in the religious journals of the West and some of it has been deplorable.' 'The Japanese sense of justice is not different, essentially, from our own and general statements attributing the evils and injustices in Korea to defective moral conceptions are out of place.' Furthermore, Greene pointed out that practical criticism must take account of certain juristic principles in which the Japanese code followed Continental European, rather than Anglo-American practice.

Fortunately the review of these cases by the Court of Appeals resulted in the acquittal of all but six of the defendants. In reporting this decision, however, Greene expressed his re-

gret 'that there has been, so far as the public is aware, no investigation of the charges of torture. Even Japan's closest friends feel that at this point a serious mistake has been made.'

During the discussion of Korean matters, Greene had an interesting correspondence with J. C. Hall, the British consul-general in Yokohama, on the relation of missionaries to the governments under which they worked. Hall remarked that the missionaries in China would gain rather than lose by the elimination of the treaty clauses which gave special protection to Christian propaganda. Greene assented and summed up briefly the development of his own thought on the subject. 'Years ago,' he wrote, 'S. Wells Williams [missionary and legation secretary in China] told me that the clause in question was inserted at his instance, and he then considered it a great benefit. At that time I had given no attention to the matter, and acquiesced in his opinion.' Greene now felt very differently: 'Experience here in Japan has shown me the immense advantage of having no admixture of diplomacy with missions. Even in extra-territorial days we understood that we must take the risk of more or less adverse action on the part of the government and adjust ourselves to it as well as we could.'

A good example of Greene's ability to take a large view of questions affecting mission interests, was his attitude on the so-called 'perpetual leases.' Under the early treaties, many of the foreigners held such leases in the 'treaty ports,' it being understood that they were to pay a fixed rental, with exemption from ordinary taxes. By 1911, the depreciation of the silver yen, which had reduced the actual rental in terms of gold to less than half its original value, together with the enormously increased value of real estate, had given the holders of 'perpetual leases' a highly privileged position in relation to their Japanese neighbors, who were paying increasingly heavy taxes. A recent decision of the Hague Tri-

bunal, that the exemption from taxation included not only land but improvements, emphasized still further the advantage of the foreign lease holders over the Japanese owners of adjoining property.

This almost complete exemption of valuable properties from taxation seemed to the Japanese quite unjust; and Greene, while sympathizing in the main with the Japanese contention, urged concessions on both sides, believing that the Japanese were ready for a fair compromise. By way of illustration, he assumed a similar situation in his own native city: 'To indicate how the Japanese look at the matter, let us suppose that a section of the city of Boston somewhat larger than the Common and Public Gardens taken together, and not far from that shape, occupied the entire water front of Boston from Milk Street southward and that within that area was concentrated fully, I should say, one-sixth part of the entire foreign trade of the United States; and furthermore that the city of Boston could collect no taxes upon the buildings, etc., within that area, while the rental *in lieu* of taxes had been fixed while the city was in its infancy. That represents very nearly the state of things in Yokohama and *mutatis mutandis* much the same thing might be said of Kobe.'

During the negotiations of 1910–11 for the revision of existing treaties, petitions were signed by the foreign leaseholders asking for a definite confirmation of their claims. In accordance with Greene's opinion, the executive committee of his mission, which held 'perpetual leases' in Kobe and Osaka, voted against signing such a petition, pending further instructions from Boston. The Boston office also accepted his view and forwarded his letter of January 26, 1911, on this subject to the State Department in Washington. Secretary Knox wrote in reply that these statements had been 'read with great interest and much appreciation.' He added: 'You will doubtless have noted that the new treaty with Japan is silent on the above subject, it having been left for subse-

quent consideration. Dr. Greene's letter will be of value to the Department when the question comes up again.' Unfortunately, 'subsequent consideration' failed to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the issue.

Meantime, other questions were seriously disturbing American-Japanese relations. American suspicions of Japanese policy in Manchuria continued active and the rejection of Secretary Knox's proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways did not improve the situation. On these issues, as in the Korean controversy, Greene made his plea primarily for suspense of judgment until the facts were better known. Soon, however, this issue was overshadowed by the more pressing questions arising out of the California anti-Japanese agitation in the spring of 1913, more particularly the proposal then pending to prevent the Japanese, with others ineligible for naturalization, from holding land within the state.

'The questions of the hour,' Greene wrote in April, 1913, 'grow out of the California anti-Japanese projects. I do not want to be an alarmist, but unless the California agitation can be quieted and the land and immigration questions transferred to an economic basis we are bound to have trouble.' He was quite ready, as he believed the Japanese leaders were also, to admit the need of restricting immigration, in order to avoid the complications resulting from a lower level of wages. This difficulty the Japanese were dealing with, adequately, as he thought, under the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' of 1908. He emphasized, however, the importance of avoiding discrimination on racial grounds, and felt that the Californians were quite needlessly wounding the sensibilities of the Japanese: 'They have been insulted wantonly and if ever one has a right to be angry, they have.' He referred also to the anxiety of men like Count Okuma; 'They are afraid,' Greene wrote, 'that unless something can be done to stop these repeated agitations, the public senti-

ment of Japan will rise so high as to force the hand of the government.' In view of the stress laid by some Americans on the alleged refusal of the Japanese to permit land-holding by aliens, he showed that individual foreigners could secure practically permanent possession by the acquisition of the so-called '*superficies* titles,' extending over such long periods as 999 years. He added that it was also possible for corporations chartered by the Japanese Government, but consisting wholly of foreigners, to hold land on terms which 'for ordinary purposes' were quite as satisfactory as ownership in fee simple. He dealt with this subject in 'The Congregationalist,' in 'The Christian Movement' for 1913, and elsewhere.

Though burdened with many cares and far from well, Greene coöperated vigorously with other foreign residents and with liberal-minded Japanese in their efforts to clear up a difficult and dangerous situation and to promote better mutual understanding. He attended a conference on the subject at the house of Count Okuma, in accordance with whose request he undertook to state the missionary point of view. Greene was later made chairman of a committee to draft a telegram to President Wilson, and another to the Japanese in California. The first read: 'Christians in Japan and America solicit best efforts against California land legislation.' The English translation of the latter was: 'We sympathize and pray for a peaceful solution.' As President of the American Peace Society of Japan, he was in close touch with the leaders of the corresponding Japanese organization which included such men as Count Okuma, Baron Shibusawa, Baron Sakatani, and other conspicuous figures in Japanese public life. On the request of Baron Shibusawa and Mr. Nakano, president of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, he sent to his son in New York a cablegram reading: 'Situation serious. Creation of just sentiment regarding California Bills imperative.'

On the evening of April 24th, Greene presided over a meet-

ing of American missionaries in Tokyo, Yokohama, and vicinity, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted protesting against the impending legislation. A cable message was sent in the same sense to the joint committee on governmental relations, which had been organized by the mission boards of the United States. He also signed on behalf of the meeting messages to the Governor of California, to the presiding officers of both houses of the legislature, and to President Wilson expressing appreciation of his general attitude.

Believing that the Japanese leaders would 'respond favorably to any efforts on the American side looking toward a reasonable settlement,' Greene felt, nevertheless, 'the danger of such strained relations as would cause serious embarrassment to all peaceful undertakings and create a situation which would make the thought of war less repellent to influential men.' He did not believe, however, that there was any danger of attacks on American residents in Japan, whose sympathy with the Japanese point of view was well understood.

Greene's attitude on these international questions was closely related to his fundamental philosophy of human relationships. That was why he felt so strongly about attempts to present the spirit of the Japanese as something essentially different from human nature as seen in other countries — what he called 'the impassable gulf theory,' underlying much of the anti-Japanese agitation in America. Against such a theory, which seemed to him quite unscientific, those who believed with Saint Paul that God had 'made of one blood every nation of men,' were bound to make a stand. Accordingly he was prepared to oppose the chauvinistic spirit wherever he found it, in Japan as well as in America. In a letter to the 'Japan Times' (an English-language paper controlled by Japanese), which was published in its issue of April 18, 1913, he referred to the theory of some Japanese that their ethical tradition was something essentially unique. He

pointed out that such declarations would inevitably excite suspicion in the countries to which they went; 'either this theory of the uniqueness of Japan's ethics must go or all complaint of special treatment must be abandoned . . . in our small world we must give up the fancy that we are ethically unique, and contrive to live together on terms of our human brotherhood.' 'I think we Americans can in time bring our countrymen around to more generous views; but we beg the Chauvinists of Japan not to interfere with our efforts unnecessarily.'

Though not a pacifist in the strict sense, Greene was an active member of the American Peace Society of Japan, and in 1912 joined with some of his Japanese friends in a new international organization called the 'Association Concordia,' and coöperated with President Naruse, of the Women's University in Tokyo in his efforts to organize an American branch. His main reliance, however, was on educational agencies. His interest in the Tokyo School for Foreign Children, in the promotion of an Oriental or International Institute in Tokyo, and in the various forms of missionary service, had in his mind a definite relation to that great end of peace and good will among men which was an essential part of the Christian message. He believed also that the trend of recent history was in the same direction. In the development of thought, both East and West, there were 'converging lines pointing to a common goal'; the future history of mankind would increasingly become 'the record of a conscious interrelationship and interdependence.' 'If the Christian leaders will but put themselves in harmony with this deep-flowing stream, they may well indulge the brightest hopes.'

As the summer of 1913 came on, it was evident that Greene was much worn by the trials and anxieties of these later years. In April, he wrote about the numerous demands on his time and 'the perplexities growing out of the present California troubles.' He was 'pretty well tired out,' but

hoped that the 'cyclone' would 'pass away without further damage.' His day's work was nearly done; but happily, in this time of weariness and anxiety, he was cheered by new evidences of the respect and affection in which he was held by his Japanese friends.

On May 16th, Greene was formally notified that he had been awarded the imperial decoration of the Third Order of the Rising Sun, the highest, as he was told, which had been given 'to resident foreigners not in some way connected with the Japanese Government or representing foreign governments.' It was the same as that previously given to three other pioneer missionaries — Hepburn, Verbeck, and Harris. His old friend, Yokoi, who had taken an active interest in the matter, was with him when the insignia arrived. In a letter to his sons, Greene described in some detail the formalities which took place on the following day: 'The next morning my old friend and pupil, Mr. Furuya, now one of the Court chamberlains, came by appointment to pilot me around while making my duty calls. We first went to the Palace where I inscribed my name in three separate registers, representing respectively the interests of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Empress Dowager. Then I left my card at the official residence of the Minister President, and called at the Foreign Office, where I met the Vice-Minister, Mr. Matsui, and Count Otori, the head of the Personnel Bureau. Both expressed a warm personal interest in the matter and made me feel that their part had not been a mere matter of official routine.'

Greene was especially moved by the more personal aspects of the occasion. 'The decoration . . . comes to me,' he wrote, 'as the symbol of the affectionate regard of my Japanese friends and will be treasured for their sakes. It has called forth many expressions of hearty friendship which have made me both proud and humble, and they have come from the most varied quarters, Japanese and foreign.'

On June 7th, about fifty of his Doshisha friends gave him a dinner and on the 17th he was the guest of honor of a larger group, about seventy in all. Among those who participated in the latter event were several distinguished public men — Count Okuma, who was not present but sent 'a most cordial letter'; Viscount Chinda, then the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, who also sent a letter; Baron Sakatani, Mayor of Tokyo; Baron Shibusawa, one of the most energetic promoters of American-Japanese comity; and Baron Kikuchi, formerly Minister of Education and successively president of the Imperial Universities of Kyoto and Tokyo. In the speaking after the dinner, the Japanese Christians were represented by Pastor Tsunashima of the Bancho Church, with which both Greene and his wife had been so closely associated. There were also cordial references to Mrs. Greene and to their children.

Grateful as were these expressions of good will, they came at a time when Greene was already seriously ill, and shortly afterward he went to Saint Luke's Hospital in Tokyo for treatment. In the summer, he was taken to Hayama, a beautiful seaside resort not far from Yokohama, where, through the kindness of friends, a comfortable cottage had been made available for himself and his daughters. Here they were presently joined by his son, Roger, then consul-general at Hankow in China. As the summer drew to a close, he was evidently losing strength, though he still spoke of returning to his work in the autumn. In the early days of September he failed rapidly, and on the 15th death came to end the weariness and pain.

It was true of him, more than of most men, that he had 'fought the good fight of faith' and had fought it to the end. Except for the last few weeks, there was no period of rusting, of simple waiting for the inevitable. Only two days before his death, he said to his sister, who had come to see him from her home in Yokohama, 'I am going to Tokyo in twelve days.

It is impossible to say what were the thoughts that passed through his mind in those last days when speech was difficult or impossible. Yet no one could have shared the intimacies of his home and his family devotions without knowing how in times of stress and anxiety he found courage in his constant sense of a Divine Providence, revealing itself in many ways, but most clearly in 'the face of Jesus Christ' — an understanding and a loving Providence.

The funeral services held in Tokyo on September 17th brought new evidence of the unique place which Greene held in the minds both of the Japanese and of the foreign community, and among men of almost every shade of religious opinion. At the services in the Bancho Church, the address in Japanese was delivered by its pastor, Mr. Tsunashima, and Greene's old friend, Dr. Imbrie, of the Presbyterian Mission, spoke briefly of him and of his relation to the Meiji Era. Among those who attended the services were representatives of the Unitarian Mission, the Society of Friends, and the Salvation Army. A bishop of the Church of England spoke of Greene a little later as 'the greatest of us missionaries,' and a missionary of the same church read the service at the grave. The Japanese leaders of the Christian movement were naturally represented in this final tribute of respect and affection; but there were others present representing quite different phases of the national life: Baron Shibusawa with whom Greene had been associated in the recent immigration controversy; the Mayor of Tokyo; two presidents of the Imperial University; members of the Imperial Diet; the heads of important private institutions of higher learning. Count Okuma sent a representative.

A few weeks later a memorial service was held at the Central Congregational Church in Boston. Addresses were made by Secretary James L. Barton, of the American Board; by Samuel C. Bartlett, for many years a member of the Japan Mission; and by Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard.

It was significant of a notable change in the religious temper of New England since the days of Jeremiah Evarts that one of the most finely appreciative tributes to his grandson should have come from a distinguished representative of the Unitarian body. It was a fitting commemoration of one who, as Professor Peabody said, 'stood habitually where he could look over the barriers of opinion and see the unities of faith.' To the same meeting, Baron Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, sent, by his personal representative, Lieutenant T. Furuichi, of the Japanese Navy, his own tribute of respect. In his message, Baron Chinda spoke of Greene as one 'who loved Japan and was dearly loved by the Japanese, who was an intelligent and sympathetic interpreter of Japanese thoughts and ideals to the world; and who worked conscientiously and with marked success in the cause of truth and international good understanding.'

Loyal as Greene was to his native country and its ideals it seemed, after all, most fitting that his grave should be with that of his wife in the city where they had spent their best years, among the people to whom and with whom they had given themselves in whole-hearted service.

THE END

JAPAN
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
SEA OF JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
HOKKAIDO (YEZO)
Hakodate
Sendai
Niigata
HONSHU (OSHIU)
Maebashi
Annaka
Tokyo (Yedo)
Yokohama
Kanagawa
Kyoto
Hyogo
Kobe
Osaka
HONSHU
Shimonoseki
Korea Strait
TOSA
Kochi
SHIKOKU
Nagasaki
Kumamoto
KYUSHU
Kagoshima
Longitude East from Greenwich

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